

Labor Age

A. F. of L.'s Biggest Task

A. J. MUSTE

Amalgamated's Victory

ISRAEL MUFSON

Communist Dual Unionism

LOUIS STANLEY

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CONTENTS:

	PAGE
FOLLOWING THE FIGHT.... <i>Louis Francis Budenz</i>	1
A. F. OF L.'S BIGGEST TASK..... <i>A. J. Muste</i>	3
HOW TO ORGANIZE <i>Louis F. Budenz</i>	7
COMMUNIST DUAL UNIONISM..... <i>Louis Stanley</i>	9
HOODLUM LAW IN GASTONIA <i>Jessie Lloyd</i>	12
AMALGAMATED'S VICTORY IN QUAKER CITY <i>Israel Mufson</i>	15
THE GARMENT STRIKE SETTLEMENT <i>William Bloom</i>	18
PROGRESSIVES FORCE AHEAD	21
FLASHES FROM THE LABOR WORLD <i>Harvey O'Connor</i>	24
IN OTHER LANDS..... <i>Patrick L. Quinlan</i>	26
SAY IT WITH BOOKS:	
MENTAL MUNITIONS FOR THE WAR ON WAR.....	27
REALISTIC ECONOMICS	28
THE EQUITIST PLAN	28
WORKERS' EDUCATION IN COLORADO <i>Frank L. Palmer</i>	29

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Following the Fight

With Comment Thereon

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

OUR AIM:

To Educate the Unorganized—To Stimulate the Organized
To Unity, Militancy and Intelligent Action.

Will Toronto Step Ahead?

Or, Will the A. F. of L. Continue to Mark Time?

GOLDEN opportunities are within the grasp of the A. F. of L., as it meets at Toronto month. The South is aroused as it has never been before. Workers everywhere are becoming increasingly restive. Spasmodic strikes such as that at Carteret, N. J., are growing in number. The post-war period of defeatism and acquiescence in every edict handed out by the bosses is coming to a close.

The astounding success of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in Philadelphia is not only encouraging, but is likewise worthy of study on the part of the A. F. of L. organizations. Company after company has signed up with the A. C. W. Many of those who were complaining parties to Judge Kirkpatrick's ridiculous injunction are cancelling that hostile action to the union and joining the ranks of union manufacturers. The Philadelphia market bids fair to become at least 80 per cent union, instead of completely anti-union, as it was at the beginning of the campaign two months ago.

The A. F. of L. has become rightly perturbed at the tendency to throw men out of work at 40 years of age or thereabouts. It has viewed the chronic unemployment problem with alarm. It has had much difficulty in re-adjusting itself to the fact that the only efficient way in which to meet the unemployment evil is through social insurance. Toronto will probably not be ready to come out decisively for unemployment relief through the State. The 5-day week will be stressed, and that is good. But more must be done than that—and that "more" will apparently have to wait until another convention.

Aside from this matter of unemployment insurance, which would aid immensely in the battle against company unionism and like rot, the A. F. of L. should feel itself called upon to adopt and put into effect the following program:

1. Immediate steps to make Industrial Unionism a reality, so that the factory and mill industries, particularly in the metal trades, can be

organized. At present, such possible organization is only a pious wish, at the very best.

2. A cooperative program, sincerely entered into, among the various international unions to spread the union message in the South, and make it stick. The United Textile Workers are carrying on the brunt of the Southern fight. They are in a low-waged, anti-union industry. The U.T.W. needs aid, and needs it badly. It requires the helping hand of the entire Labor Movement. Organization of Southern textile workers is the spearhead for organization of all crafts and industries down there.

3. The inauguration of a great educational campaign, which will revive the central bodies and make them the precursors of aggressive organization activities.

4. The beginning of a real fight for anti-injunction legislation. Along with that, the recognition that independent political action is imperative, if the unions hope to be able to win any permanent measure of respect.

5. A renunciation of Civic Federation connections, and thus to bring up the morale of the union membership and make the battle against company unionism fully effective by a national drive for old age pension legislation.

We submit that such acts would form the nucleus of a program of union revival, that would give some hope to the organized and unorganized alike. One thing is certain: Toronto must act much faster than did New Orleans.

BROTHER BROACH REPORTS

WE do witness some modern ideas creeping into union administration, at that. Like a breath of fresh air in a fetid room comes the pamphlet issued by Vice President H. H. Broach of the Electrical Workers on his "clean-up" of the electrical unions in New York City. It has been a three-year job, and now Brother Broach makes an accounting of his stewardship.

It is a very unusual and stimulating thing for

a union leader to publish a statement of this kind. It indicates an intelligence that will bear imitating. Broach carries "a sharp mind in a velvet sheathe." He can say strong things softly. He can do strong things thoroughly.

When Broach came into New York, under orders of his international, he found powerful Local 3 the football of corruption and favoritism. Grafting business agents harassed employers by compelling them to employ unfit men. Entrance into the local could be secured only by "offerings" to the private pockets of the officers. A distinct effort was made to prevent the spread of organization, in order that control of the local and the harvest of corruption could go on unchecked.

Broach used a new broom and swept clean. He threw out of office the grafters and clique-leaders. He renovated the entire local, extending its sway not only to cover the building operations but also the big utility plants. He put in an office manager to handle the relations with the employers. Modern office systems were installed. Bookkeeping was made into bookkeeping, and not alibi-records. Incompetents were compelled to take up a trade education and know it thoroughly before expecting employment. A research department was created, and out of its technical work miserable and criminal installation was discovered to be a regular feature of the trade. Its insistence upon safe and competent methods led to the employment of many members who otherwise would have had no regular jobs. A compensation department was brought into being, also, and now handles in an efficient manner the death and injury claims of the members. Older men were given protection, by the union's insistence that they be given the maintenance jobs and light work.

While behind-the-time-leaders in other building trades unions were asleep at the switch, Broach went in and got the 40-hour week for his men. Six months after the electrical workers had won the 5-hour day and the \$13.20 per day wage scale, the other unions were granted the 40-hour work week. The Building Employers kicked up their heels at that, and said harsh things about Broach. But they were now dealing with a Power and not with the bargaining Corruption of the old regime in Local 3.

The sub-title to Broach's pamphlet on his work reads: "Story of the Modernization of Union Structure and Business Methods in the Electrical Fields." That sub-title in itself sounds new and refreshing. It indicates that somebody is getting down to brass tacks.

Nevertheless, Brother Broach's pamphlet does raise the question: Is a business-like union a progressive union? We fear that it is not. Local 3 has failed to send funds to the beleaguered textile workers at Marion, whereas old Local 3 even went so far as to vote thousands of dollars to Passaic. There seems to be a growth of

craft clannishness, which may have its merits for the preservation of the union here and now, but has its obvious defects. That question we will take up later at more length.

TELEVISIONING THE FUTURE

SCARCELY have the "talkies" succeeded in their attack on the silent silver sheet than radio television steps in to squash the "talkies." The Baird Television Company has just demonstrated in New York (on Labor Day, forsooth) that sight and hearing can work together clearly and simultaneously over the air.

It was the musicians who were hit hard by the end of silence in the movies. It will be the operators who will bow to the virtual extinction of the same movies via the television route. Why go to the "show" when one can curl up in comfort in one's home, and experience all the throbs and thrills of a True Romance, with the characters right there before one's eyes and the voices coming in more clearly than on the squeaky apparatus?

And so we can chalk up another score for "Progress." What is occurring in the show business is taking place everywhere else. Resistance to the new invention is useless, in every case. If we try that, we succeed at suicide.

What we can do is to take a lesson from those who control the fruits of the machine.

They have built up their economic position by pyramiding merger upon merger. By sheer financial strength they can gobble up any new suggestion that menaces their profits. The General Motors Corporation looks upon aviation, and sees that it can become an auxiliary or an enemy to the road motor industry. General Motors does not hesitate a moment, but gets into the aviation business. Ford beholds the future with a like eye. The United-Schulte stores, now Gold Dust controlled, own safety razor and pipe companies and manufactories of other gew-gaws sold over their omnipresent counters.

Why should not Labor follow the lead of these patterns of Success, rather than remain in the slough of despond with the small merchant, who has signed his own death warrant with his own stupidity? It is one of the ironic features of the present economic moment that Labor leadership in general is inclined to ape the "philosophy" of Big Business, accepting the endless rule of the Capitalist as a thing ordained by God, while refusing to adopt the methods which make Big Business go. The "vice versa" should be the case. Big Business philosophy can never be the sound Labor viewpoint. But Big Business methods can give us a cue of what we should do to gain some semblance of respect and control.

In a monotonous chorus, we re-raise the question: Why not a speeding up of Industrial Unionism? And along with that development: Why not resort to high-pressure publicity methods that will educate communities and achieve results?

A. F. of L.'s Biggest Task

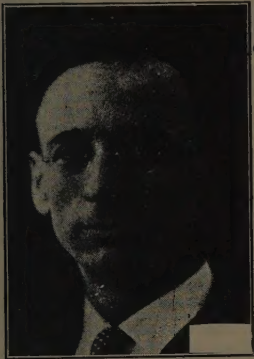
Will Toronto Back Organization of the South?

By A. J. MUSTE

THE biggest problem before the Toronto convention of the American Federation of Labor is that of the Southern organization campaign, especially among textile workers. Will the A. F. of

L. tackle this situation, meet it with aggressiveness, courage and intelligence? Or will it neglect this opportunity? Will it perhaps sabotage a real effort to organize the Southern textile workers?

Not in years has such an opportunity confronted an organization as confronts the United Textile Workers, the A. F. of L. union having jurisdiction in the textile industry, in the South today. In defense of failure to organize such an industry as automobiles the



A. J. MUSTE

A. F. of L. may argue with some plausibility that the workers are not interested in organization, or that the employers have them completely under control through welfare schemes, bonus system and company unions. But in the South the textile workers today want to be organized. They clamor daily for A. F. of L. organizers to come in, organize them, and get them charters in the U. T. W. They are willing to strike and to fight desperately to insure their right to organize. Their wages are so low, their hours so long, their conditions so disgraceful that any sort of decent effort to organize them and lead them on is bound to result in gains and so to attach them to the union. Until recently few employers have felt it necessary to stave off unionism by introducing company unionism. They meet every effort to organize with brutal resistance, calling upon the police and the military to give them the aid which these agencies are only too ready to grant. The workers know this; they are class-conscious; they sense that their only protection is in labor organization, and they are willing to pay the price if leadership and a decent amount of moral and financial support are assured them.

Critics of the American Federation of Labor, some of them by no means radical, have asserted that the A. F. of L., as a whole, no longer has the will to organize, that it has become a private club for a few crafts who occupy a position of privilege, who will not consent to the abandonment of the craft form of organization, and whose leaders do not want to see the masses of unskilled and semi-skilled brought into the A. F. of L. because then they could no longer control it; that therefore the net effect of the A. F. of L.'s

influence in any large-scale organization campaign will be not only to furnish no help, but actually to sabotage the efforts of those who try to organize.

It must be admitted that those who are reluctant to accept such a condemnation of the American Federation of Labor have to face some disappointing and puzzling features in the way in which the organizing campaign among Southern textile workers has been handled to date. There will be plain speaking here, because only plain speaking will be of any service to the workers and to the A. F. of L. in such an emergency as this.

Take the recent strike in Marion and Clinchfield, N. C. The workers in East Marion organized into a United Textile Workers' local and received a charter. Their best men were discharged for joining the union and, of course, a strike followed. Later under similar circumstances the workers of Clinchfield, an adjoining mill village, came out. The workers put up a valiant fight, faced of course with the usual paraphernalia of injunctions, troops, evictions, etc. The eyes of the Southern textile workers, yes, the eyes of the nation were fixed upon Marion. There was the one textile strike situation at the moment. How would it end? What would the workers gain? Much depended upon that. What happened?

McGrady Speaks Out

Shortly before the strike was ended, Edward F. McGrady, a well-known A. F. of L. organizer, was sent to Marion to discuss terms of settlement with the mill owners and the governor's representative. One of the proposals made by the latter was that the workers should go on the 55 hour schedule (not a real concession because the mills were temporarily curtailing anyway and because, as later appeared, this was coupled with a proviso that in six weeks the question of whether they should go back to the 60 hour week should be reopened) but that they should take a proportionate reduction in wages. They had been averaging the magnificent sum of \$13 for a 67 hour week, although the State law calls for a maximum of 60 hours.

To this proposal, McGrady replied: "North Carolina can drive workers back to a starvation wage at the point of the bayonet, but not with the consent of the A. F. of L." Assured that a policy of general evictions from company houses would be started, he added: "If North Carolina is willing to announce to the nation that it stands behind its officials in these foul practices, go ahead. You are not going to lower a wage already below the pauper line with our consent. We will continue to fight." U. T. W. officials endorsed this position and declared they would house evicted workers in tents.

That was a proud and noble utterance of McGrady's

and worthy of the rank and file who had been battling so enthusiastically for the right to organize. Here was leadership and moral support.

Within a few hours after that ringing statement was issued the U. T. W. organizer in charge of the situation made a "settlement," McGrady having left the scene, along exactly the lines which McGrady had denounced. That "settlement" nominally provides also for "no discrimination" against union members, but the men discharged in the beginning for joining the union are not being taken back. They, however, are being accorded the gracious privilege of staying two weeks in the company houses while hunting for another mill in which to slave.

Why Such a Settlement?

This question of policy in strike settlements is of crucial importance and deserves careful analysis. Why was the Marion-Clinchfield strike ended on the above terms and were the reasons for taking this step valid?

The argument in justification of the settlement would run like this: the strike had lasted some time and long-drawn out strikes are usually lost. The chances of failure were overwhelming in this case where the whole industry was backing up the fight of the struck mills against the unionization of their employees. Furthermore, the troops were on the scene. This had resulted in the partial demoralization of the Clinchfield walk-out from the start and had a bad effect in the East Marion situation. There were many scabs in Clinchfield, and quite a number in East Marion. This tended to lower the morale of the strike. There was no definite assurance that relief would continue to be forthcoming and with the need of establishing tent colonies looming up additional relief would be necessary. Under all these circumstances it was advisable to call off the fight on any terms that could be got. Follow-up work might eventually build an organization in spite of the defeat. Even if that could not be, it was still better to give up a hopeless fight and use your men and money to organize elsewhere.

This sounds plausible; Labor must often lose a particular battle in a great war. But this version is taking a lot for granted. It assumes, for example, that the battle had been carried on as efficiently and courageously as possible up to the point of settlement, and this is far from being the case.

Shortage of relief money was the least of the troubles in this strike, but that there was any shortage or threat of shortage in a strike involving at first only about 600 people and never more than about 1,700 is a sad indictment of the American labor movement with its several million members. The U. T. W. gave little money for relief. The A. F. of L. gave none. When the strike was threatening and the local U. T. W. organizer communicated with his national office as to the possibilities of relief, he was told that North Carolina would have to finance its own strikes. There was no general appeal for help in spite of the fact that this was a critical situation with the eyes of the whole South fixed upon it. Except for a small amount of help coming from the labor movement of North Carolina, relief was supplied by the Emergency Strike Relief Com-

mittee of New York, of which Norman Thomas is chairman, and some liberal individuals in the North. If under these circumstances there was a lowering of morale among the strikers or the organizers in charge, is it any wonder?

What are we to say about a movement which has no central strike fund for such a campaign as this in the South? Which fails to dramatize such a situation so as to draw support from labor and liberals? It has been demonstrated repeatedly that money for strike relief can be gotten when the right kind of appeal is made and there is confidence that an honest and half-way intelligent fight is being waged. If such a strike as this is lost for lack of relief, the labor movement has no one but itself to blame.

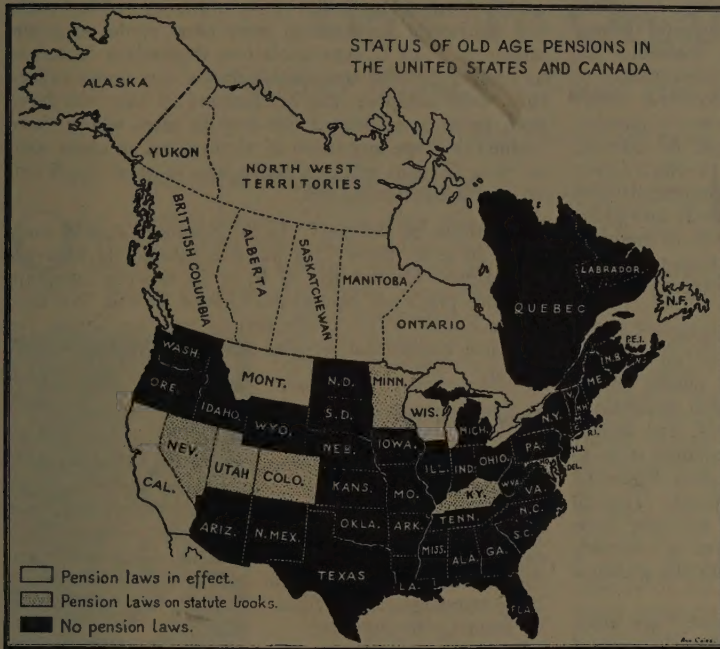
It failed in other even more important respects, however, to sustain morale and carry out intelligent strategy in the situation under discussion. The owners of the struck Clinchfield mills had other mills in the not distant town of Tarboro, N. C. All the evidence at hand indicates that no effort was made to strike the Tarboro mills, or to threaten a strike, or even to acquaint the Tarboro workers with the fact that their fellows in Clinchfield were striking and to urge them to contribute to relief. None of these obvious measures to bring pressure to bear on the Clinchfield situation was taken. Whether this failure was caused by deliberate attempt to sabotage or by stupidity, the result is the same.

After the strike had been going on for many weeks, when troops were on the scene and evictions threatened, when negotiations for a settlement were pending, John J. Leary, Jr., a *New York World* reporter, according to a Federated Press dispatch, appeared on the scene as a confidential representative of President Green of the A. F. of L. and stated to the employers that he would advise Green to remove Alfred Hoffman, who had organized these workers in his capacity as U. T. W. organizer, who had been the chief figure in A. F. of L. organizing work in North Carolina for several years, and who had been in charge of the Marion-Clinchfield strikes from the beginning. The Southern capitalist press carried a news item to the effect that a person in President Green's confidence had made this statement about the removal of Hoffman. Any one who knows anything at all about organization and strike situations will realize at once what a terrible effect such an utterance would have on the morale of these strikers and on the morale of the whole Southern organizing campaign. This was strike-breaking and union-busting of the most vicious sort.

Leary Still Unrebuked

Up to the moment of writing, we have not heard that Leary or whoever was responsible for this incident, if it was not Leary, has been repudiated by the officials of the U. T. W. whose authority and prestige was openly flouted, nor by President Green. If some "red" had spoken, by inference, in President Green's name, he would have been repudiated swiftly enough as not "a spokesman of Labor." What about this act of strike-breaking and union-busting? So long as the person who perpetrated this crime against the Marion

TOO BLACK A PICTURE



This map prepared by the American Association for Old Age Security shows how little care the United States gives to the veterans of industry in contrast to Canada. It is encouraging to note that the A. F. of L. sees the light and is to urge that a national old age pension law be adopted by Congress.

strikers is not repudiated publicly and in unmistakable language, what confidence can people have that the A. F. of L. wants to organize the South?

A word should be said about the soldiers. No doubt their presence and activities have a demoralizing effect. If, however, that is to be expected as a valid reason for abandoning strikes or accepting terms which spell defeat, then the American Federation of Labor should get out of the Southern textile field, because soldiers are going to be used in every strike which comes along. There is only one way to stop that, and that is to have the organizing campaign on such a large scale and the strikes or threats of strikes so numerous that there won't be soldiers enough to take care of the job, or, in other words, so that the tax payers will get tired of having their money spent to break strikes and maintain a low-wage-level, so as to keep the workers and the whole community poor. But this requires planning, and of this there has been little, if any, evidence, to date—witness the failure to move on Tarboro. It requires also the willingness to encourage a mass-movement which for a time might shake the South to its foundations, and what evidence have we that the A. F. of L. is prepared to adopt the strategy of summoning the Southern textile workers to such a movement for their own liberation?

The futile policy of confining strikes to isolated

situations and of trusting to the good will of the employer rather than to the aroused militancy of the worker to effect organization seems to be followed. Thus during the Elizabethton strike no serious effort to extend organization in that vicinity or to other rayon plants seems to have been made. The settlement provided that strikers who were not taken back to work and who regarded this as discrimination should have their cases "arbitrated" by one E. T. Wilson, the personnel manager of the corporation, reputed to be "fair to organized labor." The director of workers' education sent to Elizabethton by the union interviewed Mr. Wilson and reported that he was all right. Practically all this meant relying on the "fairness" of the corporation to give the union a chance to build the local organization after a hard strike and a not very satisfactory settlement, instead of building on the policy that the company could not be relied on for this, and that the workers must be kept in an aroused and militant mood, aware that their only hope lay in themselves.

What has happened? How "fair" has the Bemberg corporation been?

It has set about to build a company union. In July a new manager sent from Germany definitely announced in the house organ that no "outside organization" would be tolerated. At the moment of writing United Textile Workers officials are meeting with the local union to discuss what to do with 150 strikers who have never gotten their jobs back, and threatening to take a strike vote if the company does not adjust the matter. That things have come to this pass in itself suggests a doubt about the wisdom of the policy which has been pursued. If now a strike is necessary; if, in other words, the militancy of the workers must after all be depended upon to achieve justice, then what is to be said of the policy which has been pursued of not building up their militancy, but of getting them in effect to depend upon the corporation for protection?

Peace at Any Price

The handling of the settlement negotiations in the New Orleans street car strike indicates that the policy of compromise, of virtual "selling out" of the interests of the workers, for which there is at least the appearance of an excuse in a strike which is in bad shape, comes to be applied also in a situation where there is no such excuse. The street car men in New Orleans are standing firm; they have militant support from the whole local labor movement and even from the

general public. Power trust interests are trying to smash their union. In such a situation President Green and international officers of the street railway union negotiate a "settlement" which abandons the closed shop, leaves scabs on the job and makes it virtually certain that half of the strikers will never get their jobs back. The men were not in the position of having to accept anything that might be offered, and they have repudiated the agreement to which Green was a party. To such utterly inexplicable lengths goes the policy of settlement on any terms and at any price. "Selling out" is a hard word, and nobody is thinking, of course, of money bribes in using that term, but what other term is there to describe correctly such a policy as this and its effect on labor?

From this it is an easy and natural step to a Mitten-Mahon agreement in which the head of an international union promises for an indefinite period not to interfere with a company union situation maintained by the notorious Mitten of Philadelphia, and agrees that on roads where his union may organize it is to be judged by whether it can show the same degree of "cooperative efficiency" as the company union. Logical enough. Under the conditions which we have been describing there is no difference between a company union and a trade union, so why keep up the pretense that there is a difference?

Thus the argument that "bad settlements" are made because that is the best that can be done in a "bad situation" falls to the ground. The same policy is pursued in a "good situation" as in New Orleans. And it is legitimate and important to raise the question implied in McGrady's statement on the Marion situation: Even if a battle is lost, may it not be better frankly to admit defeat, to go down with banners flying, to make it plain that it is "the state of North Carolina" that is driving workers back into the mills at the point of the bayonet, and that the Labor movement will not be a party to such a crime? Men can have confidence in a union which has suffered defeat, but not in one which has made a needless or base surrender.

The A. F. of L. may cherish a pious wish to organize the South. To date the evidence that it has an effective will to accept the greatest opportunity which it has met in years is not convincing. There is, alas, much evidence to support the charge that in practice it will sabotage the effort to organize.

Gross Neglect of Opportunities

No comprehensive plan for a textile organizing campaign seems to have been made. There has been criminal neglect in connection with raising relief funds, strike publicity, the dramatizing of the issue. There has been failure to extend the battlefield even where such strategy seems most obvious. Persons supposed to have, or claiming to have, the confidence of President Green have allowed utterances which amounted to open and flagrant strike-breaking to get into the Southern press, and no rebuke has been forthcoming. Foolish confidence appears to have been placed in the "fairness" of corporations while they were in the very act

of building company unions, and there has been no adequate advantage taken of the militancy of the Southern workers. Settlements have been made on terms which A. F. of L. representatives themselves described as disgraceful and treasonable only a few hours before they were accepted, and settlements of this sort have been made or attempted not only in cases where there seemed no hope any more of victory, but in cases such as New Orleans where a strike was in good condition. It is a disheartening tale.

Is this to be the end? Is the Southern textile campaign to be a "flivver" as was the automobile industry campaign? Or will the A. F. of L. in some adequate measure put itself behind the United Textile Workers in the South? This is the biggest question before the Toronto convention of the American Federation of Labor.

New Methods and Dramatization

The U. T. W. is holding a great organization conference at Rock Hill, S. C. on September 28 and 29. Plans for using the motion picture and a truck equipped with loud speaker in organizing work are being discussed, as well as plans for educational work to prepare the ground for organization and to follow up organizing campaigns and strikes. Will the labor movement be lined up in support?

Adequate planning; large scale campaigning; aiming at mass-revolt of the Southern workers; a central strike relief fund; adequate publicity and dramatization of strikes and organizing campaigns; militant strikes; no bogus settlements; no playing with the notion that employers will help build unions, but constant emphasis on the message that the Southern worker must organize and work out his destiny; follow up of organizing campaigns and of strikes whether "successful" or not, with educational work so that permanent organizations may be built and a labor culture developed in the South—this must be the program, if the opportunity presented to the American labor movement in the South today is to be seized. Southern workers would rally to such a program, are clamoring for it. Friends of labor throughout the land would respond to appeals to help realize it. If Southern textiles are organized, Southern industry as a whole would probably follow. If that happened, the American labor movement would enter on the most glorious period in all its history. Does the A. F. of L. care?

There are other issues to come before the Toronto Convention, some of which are referred to elsewhere in this issue. The future of the A. F. of L. hinges however, on what it can do to organize the masses in the basic industries, and the South furnishes the test case of the moment. Whatever progress may be made in other respects, failure here spells eventual failure all along the line. Success in this field will be an aid to success all along the line, and the signal for the forward movement which will much more than double the membership.

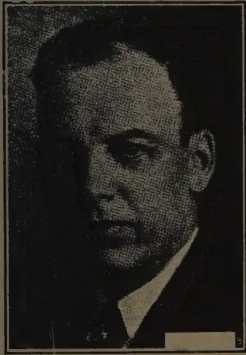
How To Organize

Further Thoughts From the Battlefield

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

II. OUR OWN ARABIAN NIGHTS

OUR arrest at Bangor, Pa. the other day was in itself an insignificant affair. The "food for thought" part of it was the attitude of the small business men of the town, the "petty bourgeoisie" of radical literature. Bedeviled by visions of Chain Store domination, they rush, poor fellows, right into the arms of their enemies, the manufacturers. This they did in Bangor, a town which is interesting because it is a sub-Middle-town without a central body and with only one anaemic local union, that of the slaters.



LOUIS F. BUDENZ

Here we were, seven of us, distributing copies of the BANGOR HOSIERY WORKER when a pallid, bespectacled, neurotic gentleman bid us halt in our tracks. Then he announced himself to be Charles Chamberlain, city councilman. (We had been told that his name was "Clarence" Chamberlain, the aeronautical implication apparently coming from the fact that he was so much up in the air.) After threatening to "tar and feather" us—in which threat he was supported by other gentlemen, who rushed about us—he was asked "if Bangor is not an American community." To which he replied—and this is the nub of the matter—that "the Kayser Mill is bread and butter to us merchants. We will not let it be disturbed."

In our educational campaigns in various communities, the small merchant must be taken into consideration. We must bombard him with data and appeals, showing that high wages will be of aid to him. We must show him that his prosperity depends upon the worker. This will divide his ranks, solid in the beginning always for the Big Business group, whom he hopelessly apes in thought and deed. Without going in to the contentious problem of whether the small business men deserve to exist as a class in society, divisions among that group does aid the workers in the organizing campaign. The big manufacturing interests have built up their own "Arabian Nights"—with tales of the triumph of individual initiative and other like buncombe. They threaten dire results to the little merchants, should the mill or factory move from the locality in which it plays such a large part. They have succeeded in getting the little merchants all agog with

enmity toward unionism. We must create our own "Arabian Nights" to feed these "petty bourgeoisie," and it will be good food for them to digest.

State Federations in Action

It is here that the State Federations of Labor can supplement the work of the central bodies. The American Federation of Labor can prepare, for the State bodies, news releases and other forms of publicity which will reach these communities shut off from intimate contact with unionism. The national "educational" agency can be as effective in this effort, as in the wide-flung work for the local central organizations, in cities of somewhat larger size. In this manner the workers will be reached, and the fire of independence and of revolt will be spread among them.

As in all other educational and publicity ventures, the essence of success is Action. The A. F. of L. department must prepare programs of action for the State Federations, in a cooperational way, in order that there may be a constant trip-hammer drive of "union, union, union" into every village and hamlet of the commonwealth. Action on unemployment, action on old age security, action on shorter hours, action on living costs, action on a thousand and one things affecting the political and economic life of the State. But it must be from a distinctly Labor viewpoint, and the only distinctly Labor viewpoint that will challenge prolonged publicity and respect is that based on independent political ideas and ideals. To be merely the tail to an old party kite will not carry Labor far.

Here, again, we see that the "philosophy" which imbues the educational forces of Labor is an important pragmatic item in the success of the campaign. Labor apologetic is Labor looked upon with contempt. Labor, fired with a sense of its own independent value and power, is something entirely different—to be feared, perhaps, to be respected, certainly.

The second thought, then, is that organization work should be scientific—based on a proper practical knowledge of the present political and economic scene. Our organizer, and those directing his work, should look upon the line-up in each community with knowing eyes. They should realize fully that this is a contest for power between two groups—the anti-union manufacturers seeking to establish autocracy and the minimum of concessions to the workers, the workers seeking freedom, the maximum of rights, and a place in the public sun.

If that concept is ingrained in the organizer, he will be less inclined to stop short at obstacles, because he will expect them and be prepared to meet them. He is engaged in a crusade, not a business deal. He will spot the weaknesses in his opponents' armor, and convert

their attacks into boomerangs. He will see, with a cynical eye, the Pharisees in public office, used as tools by the anti-union forces. Behind the judge on the bench for 30 years, he will behold the cash-nexus binding him to the Open Shop Gang. If he be on the lookout for these things, he will be much better able to steer his course courageously and continuously—and to expose the tools of the workers' enemies when occasion demands. In the use of such tactics, based on such knowledge, the workers will come to have a feeling of power and confidence in the union cause, rather than that feeling of slinking fear so much alive today in anti-union communities.

Less "Red" Talk and More Organizing

If he have that concept, the organizer (and those backing him) will cease to moan and resolute about the terrors of "radicalism," "Communism," etc., etc. He will ignore these terms and movements, letting them work out their own destinies. He will cease looking for alibis in that direction, and get down to the business of organizing. If he actually does that, it will be only a short time till open shoppers will try to dub him "red" on his own account.

Brother J. M. Gillespie of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs, has the correct idea in an editorial (August, 1929, issue of his official journal), in which he writes:

"Many times one wonders if it is worth the time and sometimes the money, which is spent fighting so-called radicals—Communists, left and right wings. Every year at the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, two or three days are taken up in defeating the resolutions which are introduced that are favorable to the Reds and their propaganda.

"President Green has always taken a very strong stand, as did the late Samuel Gompers, against any form of radicalism, and the newspapers of the country give it plenty of publicity. However, when the convention is over and the workers in some districts look for better conditions and decide to organize, the employers immediately start in to discharge the men who join the union and declare right away that they will not meet or deal with radicals, although it is an organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

"Again we find newspapers that will print almost any kind of a statement not only against those who are trying to lift up themselves, but also against those who are dependent on them. In Pittsburgh, where Organizer Burger has been organizing the Milk Wagon Drivers and Helpers, who decided they wished to be organized into a union of their own in order to be able to bargain collectively and help better their conditions, statements have been made and published that he is a radical and had no right to come into Pittsburgh to help those men. Some of the paid advertisements appearing in the newspapers have intimated that the Reds are behind all the trouble and responsible for forming the union.

"It might be a good thing for all the American Federation of Labor Unions—national and international—to let the large employers of North America fight the so-called radicals themselves and spend our time and money on organizing the workers of all crafts and let those who are

giving aid and putting over something on the unsuspecting public do all this work of fighting the Reds without the assistance of the regular Labor Movement and the American Federation of Labor."

There you have the fundamental fallacy of A. F. of L. educational activities, tersely stated out of bitter experience. Organizer Burger's reception would have been a different one had a program of national aggressive, affirmative publicity been launched, rather than the eternal hymns of hate against the "Reds." Pittsburgh is a city which can well bear such an aggressive and affirmative message, An A. F. of L. organizer sat in that city for years, twiddling his thumbs and making not the least bit of headway in this seat of Mellonism and Labor-Spying.

Were the Pittsburgh central body encouraged to assume an independent attitude in local public life and to carry through a systematic plan of action, something better would come out of it than the doldrums that prevail there at the present date.

In addition, it can readily be seen that an efficient publicity man would have been a mighty help to Organizer Burger. This man could suggest activities that would make news. He could think up ways and means of offsetting this bunk about Burger's "radicalism." He could get copy into the newspapers that would be in news form, and that would encourage publication. Newspapers have formulas of their own, such as with any other standardized craft or profession. If these are followed, publicity is much more easily secured.

Scientific Method Helps

The scientific method in organizing work is too often missing, not only in the lack of it in general educational work, but also in the immediate down-in-the-roots activity itself. There is too much of a tendency to placate the old line political bosses and officials. The Communists themselves tried that in their New York-strikes, via Arnold Rothstein. There are times when a velvet glove is needed, but it always must encase the iron fist. There are certain rights which Labor has that need not be won by barter or trade or political cajolery. They can be won by an assertion of those rights themselves and by a show of power. They can be greatly pushed forward by putting the officialdom on the legal and moral defensive, rather than by sneaking in for favors by way of a back door route. Friends come to those who make a show of courage and take on a fight for principle.

The A. F. of L. can do much toward fostering the scientific handling of local labor situations. There are hundreds of communities in which union organizers are excluded from effective activity. We do not refer now to the bloody South. It is of the North we speak. The A. F. of L. could concentrate, in cooperation with an international union affected, in opening up such communities to free speech and free press. A. F. of L. officials could come into those cities or towns and be arrested, for example. It would be the occasion for much publicity and would embarrass the local authorities to a serious degree. That is one way to bring freedom for unionism to these walled Chinese cities in mid-America.

Communist Dual Unionism

The T. U. U. L. Convention at Cleveland

By LOUIS STANLEY

THE significance of the Trade Union Unity Convention which met at Cleveland on August 31, Sept. 1 and 2, to organize a Communist rival trade union center to the American Federation of Labor cannot be measured entirely by the amount of space it received in the general and labor press. The publicity arrangements were poor, while the conduct of the National Air Races in Cleveland under the direction of high-powered public relations counsellors with plenty of money drew reporters to the Municipal Airport instead of to a miserable little labor convention in a working-class section of the town. Neither can the importance of the gathering be calculated from the optimistic and sprawling reports in the *DAILY WORKER*, the official organ of the Communist Party of America.

Technically the Trade Union Unity Convention was the fourth national convention of the Trade Union Educational League which William Z. Foster had founded in 1920, to "bore within" the existing unions and win them over to progressive labor principles. The T. U. E. L., it is a matter of history, became an auxiliary organization of the Workers, now the Communist Party, when Foster came to the conclusion that he could best forward his work by such affiliation. Late in 1927, in his book "Misleaders of Labor," he still referred to dual unionism as an "error," as a "false" and "mistaken" theory. Summing up the tactics of the dual unionists, he wrote: "This disastrous policy (of dual unionism) was continued by nearly the whole left wing until about 1921, when under the influence of the writings of Lenin and the decisions of the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions, the militant elements began to abandon dual unionism and to work in the old unions."

A Sudden Change of Mind

A few months later, in the spring of 1928, the "influence of the writings of Lenin," and the decisions in Moscow changed. The Communist authorities decided upon a policy of creating dual revolutionary unions. Foster began to sing a new tune. He abandoned his opposition to dual unionism. The slogan of "Save the Union," which had characterized the work of the Communists in the United Mine Workers, was condemned by the Red International of Labor Unions. Soon a dual organization, the National Miners' Union, was formed. Later there followed the National Textile Workers' Union and the Needle Trades' Workers' Industrial Union. Efforts were made to create other dual unions. Finally, the Trade Union Educational League called a convention to meet in Cleveland early this year to transform itself from a "boring organization to a "dual." The convention for lack of following had to be postponed to the Labor Day week-end. It is this meeting which abolished the Trade Union

Educational League and substituted for it the Trade Union Unity League, a new national Communist trade union center for the United States.

To be sure, the call for the convention claimed that the old policy of "boring" from within was not to be abandoned:

"The reorganization of the T. U. E. L. into the Trade Union Unity League marks a new development in the policy of the revolutionary union movement in the United States. It is the expression of the advance of the American workers to more advanced forms of struggle. The old T. U. E. L. placed the main stress upon work within the conservative trade unions. The new Trade Union Unity League puts the principal emphasis upon the organization of the unorganized workers into industrial unions, independent of the A. F. of L., without, however, slackening the work within the old unions."

Dual in Practice

"The more advanced forms of struggle" seem merely to save Foster's face. When interviewed, he and his representatives could not quite explain what the nature of the work in the old unions would be. If the followers of the T. U. U. L. in a union are insignificant, then it is to be expected that they have no choice but to stay within and "bore," but if they are influential, will the T. U. U. L. have its people secede and form dual unions? An official theoretic answer could not be obtained. In practice, the unions that have been formed by the Communists are in industries where organization already exists to a larger or smaller extent. These unions are, therefore, "dual."

The premises upon which the new dual union center is founded are explained officially as follows:

"The basis for this development in policy (described in the quotation above) is the growing radicalization of the workers, especially the semi-skilled and unskilled, in all industries, their determination to struggle against the rationalization program of the employers and the intolerable conditions it produces, and the total impossibility of their carrying on this struggle within the scope of the employer-dominated old unions. The old unions cannot be used to organize the unorganized. The workers are compelled to organize new unions on the industrial plan, wherewith to conduct their struggle. . . . The T. U. U. L. puts its chief stress upon the formation of such unions. . . . The A. F. of L., which pretends to be the working-class center, is in reality an instrument of the bosses to demoralize the workers. . . . The American working-class must set up a real fighting union center against the employers and the social reformists. More and more the Trade Union Unity League will develop such a center,

as the point around which the masses of workers will rally in their struggle against capitalism."

There is no doubt, though, that the T. U. U. L. has reversed Foster's old policy of trying to reform the existing unions and has embarked upon a program of forming new unions. This is based upon the fundamental supposition that the American workers are becoming so radical that nothing less than revolutionary unions will satisfy them. The speakers at the convention, the official documents and the resolutions adopted voiced this sentiment. First place was given to the defense of the Soviet Union and affiliation with the Red International of Labor Unions, the Latin American Confederation of Labor, the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat and the All-America Anti-Imperialistic League. How much these affiliations will thrill the supposedly "radicalized" American worker we can only surmise. Foster in an interview declared that about the most important step taken by the convention was the decision to send a workers' delegation to Soviet Russia next year! The resolution embodying this plan did not attract any attention. The stage director must have made a slip.

The Communist Following

The reality of the new trade union center rests upon the number, quality, and strategic position of the workers it is able to reach. The Credentials Committee reported the presence at the convention of 690 delegates. This is a large number for a gathering of this kind and is an indication of enthusiasm and energy by some people about something. The people were largely members of the Communist Party and they had been told to be excited about a new trade union center. This is not said to disparage them. On the contrary, a few Communists can carry on an immense amount of activity for better or for worse. To that extent the Trade Union Unity League can count upon loyal participants in its struggles and if the Party were now free from factional disputes, this disciplined following would be of some consequence. In addition, of course, there were some discontented workers who, though not Communists, had been sent or been induced to come to the convention. Whether they can be retained and whether their numbers can be increased depend upon the validity of the premise that a revolutionary program can appeal to American workers today and the opportunity they are given to share with Communist Party members the work of the T. U. U. L.

The significance of the large delegation, however, is somewhat diminished by an analysis of its composition. More than a quarter of the delegates were men, women and youths representing the miners. Many came in big trucks from the neighboring districts and as far West as Virginia. The miners' group accounted for a goodly number of the 64 Negro delegates about which the convention, since the Red International of Labor Unity had emphasized work among the Negroes, waxed enthusiastic. The Communist National Miners' Union, from all careful reports, is but a slight factor in the mine fields. The importance of the miners'

AN UNEQUAL CONTEST



Locomotive Engineers' Journal

Communists offer through the T. U. U. L. a new remedy for the "little fellow."

delegation must be considered in the light of these facts.

According to the official report, only about three-fifths of all the delegates actually represented occupational groups. From the newly formed industrial unions there came 302 and from shop committees 130 delegates. The rest were distributed as follows: Local T. U. E. L. groups and affiliated organizations, 145; general T. U. E. L. group, that is, officials, 27; members of the T. U. E. L. national committee, 46; and fraternal delegates, 40. The total number of workers supposed to be represented was 70,556. Only 57,000 were claimed for the industrial unions. To say that these figures are exaggerated is not to surprise anyone. Padding of statistics is a universal art. The shop committees, let us say, are made up of ten workers on the average. That means that the 130 delegates from the shop committees speak for no more than 1,500 workers. The members of a shop committee may be Communist Party members or sympathizers scattered throughout a large plant and, therefore, their connection with one another may have no such strategic importance as when they come from a single department of an establishment. Still active workers in a factory, even if separated from one another, may be in a position to capitalize for the benefit of the T. U. U. L. any discontent that may come to the surface.

A Matter of Convenience

The decisions to make Cleveland, Ohio, the seat of the convention and the Labor Day week-end the time were wise. Cleveland is fairly convenient to important industrial districts dealing in a variety of com-

modities. Delegates from New York, it could be assumed, would come anyway. The holiday period made it possible for many to attend the convention. Partly as a result of the happy selection of time and place 127 delegates came from Ohio; 121 from Pennsylvania; 92 from New York; 66 from Illinois; 59 from Michigan; 36 from Massachusetts; 24 from Indiana; 13 from North Carolina; 11 from California; 10 from Minnesota; 9 from Missouri; 9 from New Jersey; 7 from Kentucky; 2 from Virginia; and one from the District of Columbia. Partly also because of the number of basic industries which are concentrated within a reasonable radius around Cleveland, the representation by industries was diverse: Mining, 189; steel and metal, 69; automobile, 53; electrical supplies, 11; building, 44; food, 40; rubber, 12; printing, 8; marine, 11; shoes, 17; railroad, 20; textile, 40; needle trades, 51; miscellaneous, 58. The T. U. E. L. officers, of course, exerted themselves to make the best of the advantages of location and date.

The convention itself was harmonious to the point of boredom. At no time, it may truly be said, had the delegates really entered into the proceedings. Everything was cut and dry. Everything to the last detail had been settled ahead of time by the Red International of Labor Unions in Moscow. In effect, instructions were laid down in the Open Letter of the R. I. L. U. to the convention and the Draft Program and the Draft Constitution presented by Foster and the officials of the old T. U. E. L. For two days the convention listened to a series of lectures by so-called "reporters" on trade union unity (Foster), youth (Siroka), organization of the unorganized and strike strategy (Dunne), the struggle of the colonial people against American imperialism (Simons), trade unionism and the negro workers (Hull), the fight against the war danger and defense of the Soviet Union (Wicks), and social insurance (Hathaway). Not a new idea was presented, except perhaps the kinder attitude towards social insurance under capitalism which Hathaway expounded and which was embodied in a subsequent resolution. On the last day all the business was rushed through, leaving the delegates in a daze.

The Work by Industries

The most valuable work of the convention did not take place upon the floor at all. During and between sessions a large number of industrial conferences were held at which the delegates of the same industries could become acquainted with one another, compare notes and work out a plan of action for their industry. No doubt, these conferences did do something to help the T. U. U. L. carry out its objects. New contacts were made and a better acquaintance with conditions in different parts of the country was attained. If the right persons are available and follow-up work is done, an extension of influence is possible.

How far can the Trade Union Unity League succeed at present in becoming a substantial rival to the American Federation of Labor? The immediate future is not particularly bright. It is doubtful whether the American worker, despite sporadic outbursts here

and there, is prepared for a revolutionary program containing appeals which are foreign to his experience and otherwise lacking in interest to him. It is doubtful whether this is the auspicious moment for dual unionism, since dual unions may play into the hands of the employers while the old organizations despite their conservatism still comprise some three or four million workers and perhaps are not hopelessly in control of so-called reactionaries. It is doubtful, furthermore, whether the T. U. U. L. has the personnel to carry on its ambitious program. Its followers may have energy and devotion but they do not always have sense, and when they do, dogmatic considerations, particularly political ones, soon dislodge it from them. In the immediate future the T. U. U. L. hopes to organize the automobile industry and launch campaigns in the textile and mining fields of the South. Has it the leadership to reach these objectives, has it the money, has it the ability to adapt itself to changing situations? Has it weighed all the obstacles?

The Moral of the Tale

Some lessons, however, can be learned from the Trade Union Unity League. It is right in concentrating its attention upon the specific industries. It is right in going after the rank and file workers. It is right in stressing the importance of women, youth and the Negro. It is right in seeking to organize the unorganized. It is right in emphasizing the failings of capitalism and the vision of a better social order. It is right in teaching the necessity for international solidarity. But it is wrong in abandoning the old unions. It is wrong in isolating itself from other militant workers by submitting to the dictatorship of the Communist Party. It is wrong in its analysis of the economic situation. It is wrong in its straight-jacket dogmatism. Progressives may well ponder over these things. They have a great deal to learn from the activities of Communists. They can get a few pointers as to what to do as well as what not to do. What is sound in Communist policy is the attention to the concrete situation, the application to details, the drive to penetrate into the ranks of the workers, the urge to create a mass movement of wage-earners. What is unhealthy in the Communist position is the enslavement to preconceived notions, the perversion of facts to suit theories, the readiness to obey orders that have no necessary connection with the business on hand, the stubbornness of the blind, disciplined fanatic.

Progressives have a great task before them. Their job is to make the labor movement hum with activity but they cannot do it by confining themselves to attacks upon leaders, critical commentaries upon what is going on, and free advice as to what ought to be done. The work of progressives is to build up a rank and file movement that by its demands for progressive labor action will make it possible and profitable for leaders to be progressive. The need for progressives is to break down their present isolation in the labor movement. They must start to work at the bottom and build up. Plunging into union activities and converting the rank and file is their mission.

Hoodlum Law In Gastonia

Defendants Victims of Community Prejudice

By JESSIE LLOYD

THE Gastonia prosecution's first moves, in the third installment of its attempt to convict Gastonia strikers of conspiracy to murder, show that it recognizes the weakness of its case, but is determined to put the men leaders at least out of the way. Nine of the defendants, who were barely mentioned in the most incriminating evidence it could muster last month (in the trial halted by the insanity of a juror) were dismissed. They are Amy Shechter, Vera Buch, Sophie Melvin, Russel Knight, Delmar Hempton, N. F. Gibson, K. O. Byers, J. C. Heffner, and Robert Allen. The remaining defendants' charges are reduced to second degree murder, carrying a penalty up to 30 years in jail, which will be easier to secure from a jury than electrocution. Facing this penalty are Fred Erwin Beal, George Carter, Clarence Miller, Joseph Harrison. From the north, and W. W. McGinnis, Louis McLaughlin, and K. Y. Hendricks of Gastonia.

These two moves together reduce the defense peremptory challenges from 168 to 28. The prosecution has 14, half of the defense figure, instead of only a third as before. With only 28 challenges, it will be almost impossible for the defense to secure an unprejudiced jury, as a juror is qualified even if he admits prejudice against the defendants, if he says he can disregard it and judge impartially. The defense had to spend over 70 challenges on such people last time.

A further move endangering the defendants was the judge's order consolidating the charges against them of felonious assault on Ferguson, Gilbert and Roach, with the Aderholt murder charge. This permits the prosecution to introduce in this trial a great variety of evidence that would otherwise be barred. Much of this evidence, according to defense lawyers who examined the state witnesses before the trial, is perjured. The prosecution evidently is doing its best to put together a meaty story, since the jurors in the last mistrial declared they would have been unanimous for acquittal, even without hearing a word from the defense.

Dismissals With a String

Charges of secret assault against seven other defendants, who were to have been tried October 15, were also dismissed. The dismissal of these and the first nine defendants, however, are "with leave," which means the state may reopen their cases at any time.

The new shaping of the case is highly ironical. For the state has no evidence that any of the seven defendants fired the fatal shot, and must depend entirely on proving conspiracy to secure any conviction at all. In order to cut defense challenges, however, and to make it easier for the jury to convict, it has reduced the charges to "second degree murder." That means "murder without premeditation." How it is possible

for a group of people to conspire to murder without premeditation is something that does not seem to worry North Carolina logic.

And the first three days of star witnesses produced no proof of conspiracy to kill Aderholt. The only indications of any premeditation were of comic opera quality. Neighbors said that Beal seemed worried that night to see them staring through the union office window, and put a piece of cardboard up to cover a broken pane—a pane which he had never bothered to fix before. Then officers said the side of the union building was full of knotholes, which had been whittled out to make them big enough to sight a gun through, and "looked as if they had been worn by something like iron pressing against them." (!) One cannot help wondering why the state had to drag in such evidence, for when I went to look at the scene of the crime, I saw that the famous broken pane was only one out of six, with five still clear to see through. When I walked on to the grounds to present my Federated Press credentials to the numerous officers guarding the place, and asked to view the knotholes, I was told, "We don't want no reporters around here," and threatened with arrest. I was also offered a beating up if I reported the incident in the paper—"man or woman!" added the officer viciously.

Gastonia Goes Crazy

It is perhaps not strange that after three days of the state's evidence one of the jurors went raving mad. That seemed to be the signal for all the "best people" of Gastonia to follow suit. No Gastonia officer, we were given to understand in the courtroom, would think of using violence on unionists, or allowing violence. But the night the mistrial put the unionists out of reach of the electric chair for another three weeks, Gastonia went wild—officers too. The mask of impartiality and legality was carelessly dropped. Witnesses have sworn in affidavit that they recognized Carpenter and Bulwinkle, leading attorneys of the prosecution, lining up the mob in front of Carpenter's office—the mob that later sallied out to raid union and International Labor Defense headquarters in three counties, threaten defense attorneys with lynching, and kidnap and beat Ben Wells, C. M. Lell, and C. D. Saylor. Ferguson, speed cop, who accompanied Aderholt on his fatal "investigation" of union headquarters, was seen leading the parade of cars on his motorcycle. Even the conservative CHARLOTTE OBSERVER reports two carloads of "peace officers" riding along with the mob, "which was a quiet one."

Quiet indeed: it only tore up literature in two headquarters, stole a typewriter, smashed windows, wrecked bric-a-brac in the Walton Hotel in Charlotte where

the union organizers lived, milled about Charlotte streets shouting lynching threats against the defense attorneys, kidnapped three organizers, and beat one unconscious, after placing a rope around his neck to hang him. No record of all this appears on the Charlotte or Gastonia police blotter of that night. Yet the same crowd of officers have the face to come into the Aderholt trial again and swear that the unionists could have no reason to shoot in self-defense, no cause to doubt their full protection by the police.

If this were the only mob outrage with police acquiescence since the mistrial, it would be bad enough. But there has been a series of terroristic acts against union sympathizers for weeks. The only difference now is that the bands are smaller and better regimented. Victims declare the leaders are mill officials, often with police for lieutenants. They appear to be extensions of the Committee of One Hundred, organized by the Loray mill during the strike from its hangers on and the American Legion. They go about in a deliberate and methodical way, one or two cars full, armed, threatening now one organizer or sympathizer, now another. Every house in Charlotte, Gastonia, and Bessemer City where known sympathizers live has suffered their attentions. In Gastonia and Bessemer City they have even attempted to enter: only shooting by the upstanding householders has driven them off. All the organizers, including the women, have been threatened with death.

When Ella May Wiggins, beloved songstress of the union, was killed in broad daylight on the public highway after hundreds of mill men had been deputized to keep the peace, it seemed like a climax. People thought the anti-union gangs would not dare to continue, in the face of the widespread indignation at this heartless shooting at a retreating car full of unarmed men and women. But so far the state of North Carolina has simply held seven people on a charge of manslaughter, not murder—and has failed to make any vigorous attempts to identify the man who shot her. Mob violence continues. Hardly a night has passed without threats, raids, dynamitings, or kidnappings. Cleo Tesser, local Kings Mountain organizer, was taken into South Carolina and beaten even more severely than the northerner Wells. Charles Blue, another local organizer, was shot in the ankle and threatened with death if he ever came back to town. No protection is given union sympathizers by the police. Indictments against Ella May's and Tesser's assailants drag, with alibis by fellow mill men accepted at their face value.

Liberties Union Offers Reward

It has been left to the American Civil Liberties Union to offer a \$1,000 reward for the conviction of Ella May's murderer, \$250 for information leading to the conviction of co-conspirators, and \$500 for Tesser's floggers. The Civil Liberties Union will also start civil and damage suits against various individuals, officials, and corporations, including the Gastonia municipal government. Among the charges are illegal expenditure of taxpayers money in an attempt to frame the Gastonia defendants, also kidnapping and false arrest.

Now that the legal arm of the anti-unionists has gone into court again, the campaign of violence is somewhat moderated. Perhaps that is why the prosecution is hurrying the case so. It wants to meet the N. T. W. U. conference scheduled for October 12 with a nice new conviction—and a free hand. It is determined to crush the union by any methods whatever, including mob violence.

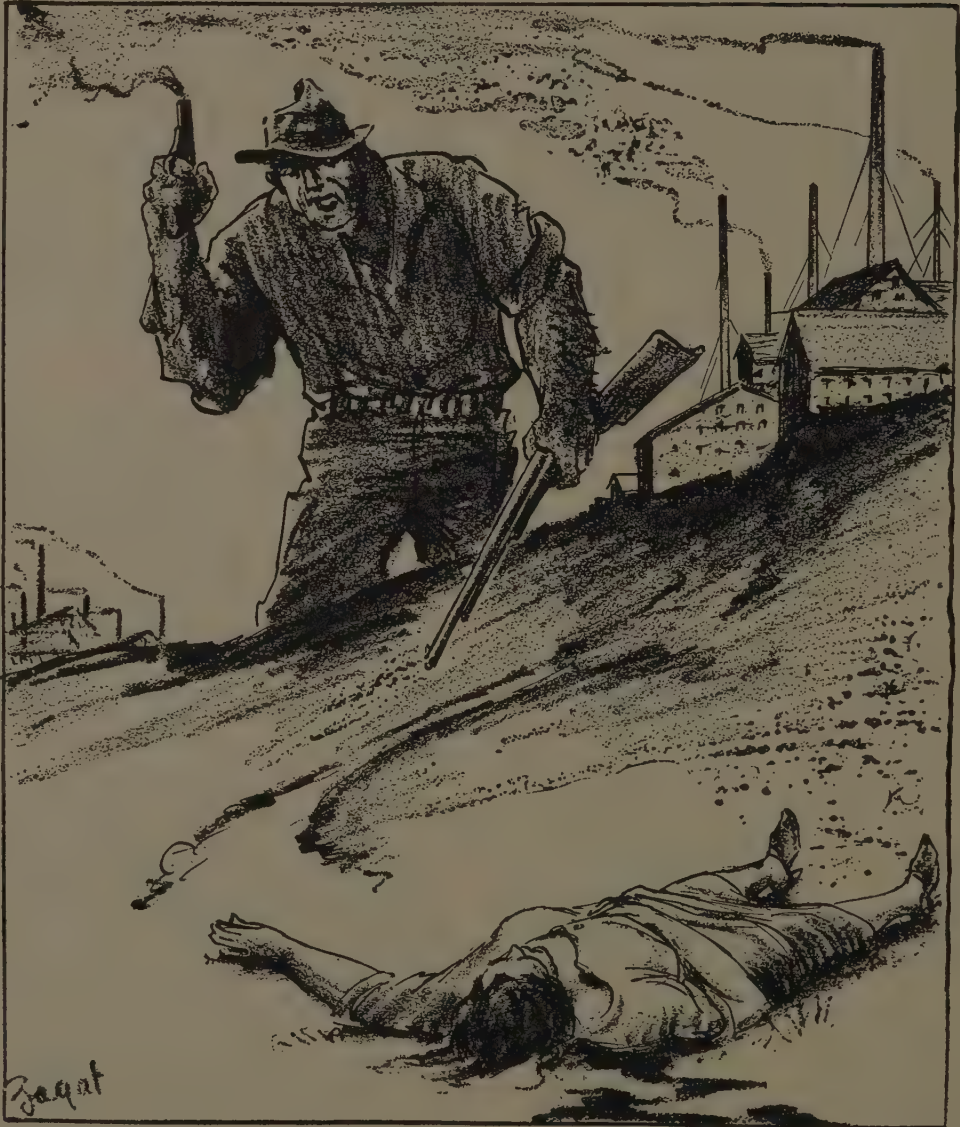
"Civic enterprise" Robert Barry calls this campaign in the N. Y. EVENING WORLD—"a popular reaction against the communists." But I heard even the non-union workers and small store people of Gastonia blaming "the gang that runs this town." "They treat people the way I wouldn't treat a striped snake," one non-union worker told me. "That's why we'll join the union, as soon as the next big fight comes on. They try to scare us off the union leaders, saying they ain't got no religion. But what do we care, if they stick with us to help us? What does that Loray gang know about religion anyway? If all the religion in Gastonia was nitroglycerin, it wouldn't be enough to blow one man's nose."

Pay Roll Cut \$500,000

Barry describes Loray mill wages as running from \$12 for sweepers to \$35 for weavers. Actually the average for all workers is under \$14. He says that women are given time off to nurse their children; but the women say they are docked for that time. He describes the nice progressive factory: of course it must seem progressive to him that \$500,000 was cut off the annual payroll last year with production kept up as usual. Perhaps he also considers it progress that deaths from pellagra, the disease of undernourishment, increased 50 per cent in North Carolina last year.

Meanwhile a host of liberal "well-wishers of labor," not quite so brazen as Barry, has suddenly arisen to advise the N. T. W. U. to get out of Gastonia. "A readjustment is necessary," they concede, "conditions are admittedly bad—but the Communists can only increase the difficulty of this very difficult situation." Who admitted conditions were bad, though, before the Communists went down and made a noise? Who spoke of readjustments? Not the Chambers of Commerce of North Carolina, nor Governor Gardner either. It is only now, in the glare of publicity, that he deploras low wages and long hours. Before he was not irked by conditions in the mills he owns, and the policy of the Manufacturers' Association. Now, he says, he will try to improve conditions gradually and soundly, but he wants no interference of Communists. This, one must remember, comes from the man who last month called out state troops to protect a mill at Marion that was violating the state 12-hour law from an A. F. of L. union. A. F. of L. leaders now face charges of inciting to rebellion, bearing a penalty of 15 years in jail. To one capable of simple deductions, it looks black for any union in North Carolina. Governor Gardner says he will make everything lovely if the bad boys will go away and stop interfering—but this is too much like telling your alarm clock that you would have got up long ago if it hadn't waked you with such a disgusting racket.

NORTH CAROLINA!



Jewish Daily Forward

Amalgamated's Victory In Quaker City

A Pragmatic Lesson in Union Organization

By ISRAEL MUFSON

THE Victory of the Amalgamated in Philadelphia, after thirteen years of effort to make the clothing industry safe for organized labor, holds too many elements of general labor strategy to be considered of concern only to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Aside from the general feeling of joy shared by all interested in labor with the success of any single organization, there is the more significant factor of how it was done which makes the story important. Of all unlooked for demonstrations of effective organization work the Amalgamated's achievement in Philadelphia was the most unexpected. After thirteen years of continuous and unsuccessful campaigning any activity begins to be looked upon as in the nature of a necessary gesture; as so much show window dressing. So the latest attempt appeared to the Philadelphia employers and so many of the workers and even officials of the union feared it would turn out to be. But success came, and though the organizing campaign is still being waged, the fact that eight thousand workers out of a possible eleven thousand engaged in the clothing industry are now signed up members of the union and the largest shops in the business have working agreements with it leaves the final outcome without any doubt. Even the fact that one of the most drastic injunctions ever issued from any bench is still effective holds no present concern to those interested in victory for the workers.

Officially the campaign to organize the Philadelphia clothing market started on what superstitious people would consider a very unlucky day—June 13. The employees of the Navytone Co., numbering 250 souls, were the first asked to try their luck with the Amalgamated. But really, work for this initial strike call began about a year before. The fact that the tie-up in that plant was complete from the first day may have seemed to outsiders due to an act of God but actually to judicious distribution of organizers many, many months previous.

To understand better the job that was accomplished and the obstacles in the way a word or two must be said of the make-up of the workers in the Philadelphia industry. Within recent years, partly due to a change in the kind of immigrants coming to the United States and partly to machine development, operators who were much easier to unionize gradually gave place to Italians, with their padrone system and to youths who would not take any organization seriously. The Italians, accustomed as they were in relying upon a friend who spoke their language to find employment for them and protect their interests, were easy victims for the "contractor," who himself could earn from \$100 to \$150 weekly. The contractor gave them steady work and wages did not matter so much. The young folks,

on the other hand, were in no position to judge whether \$15 was an adequate weekly wage or not and could be relied upon to stand firm against strangers talking organization, of which they knew nothing at all and about which they could understand as little. It is very clear, therefore, that no contractor could be sold to unionism for he would obviously lose his point of vantage. Neither could the adult workers be approached because of their general suspicion of strangers and trust in their "friends." The young workers, for reasons already mentioned, were equally immune to union propaganda. A very hopeless situation.

Formulating A New Strategy

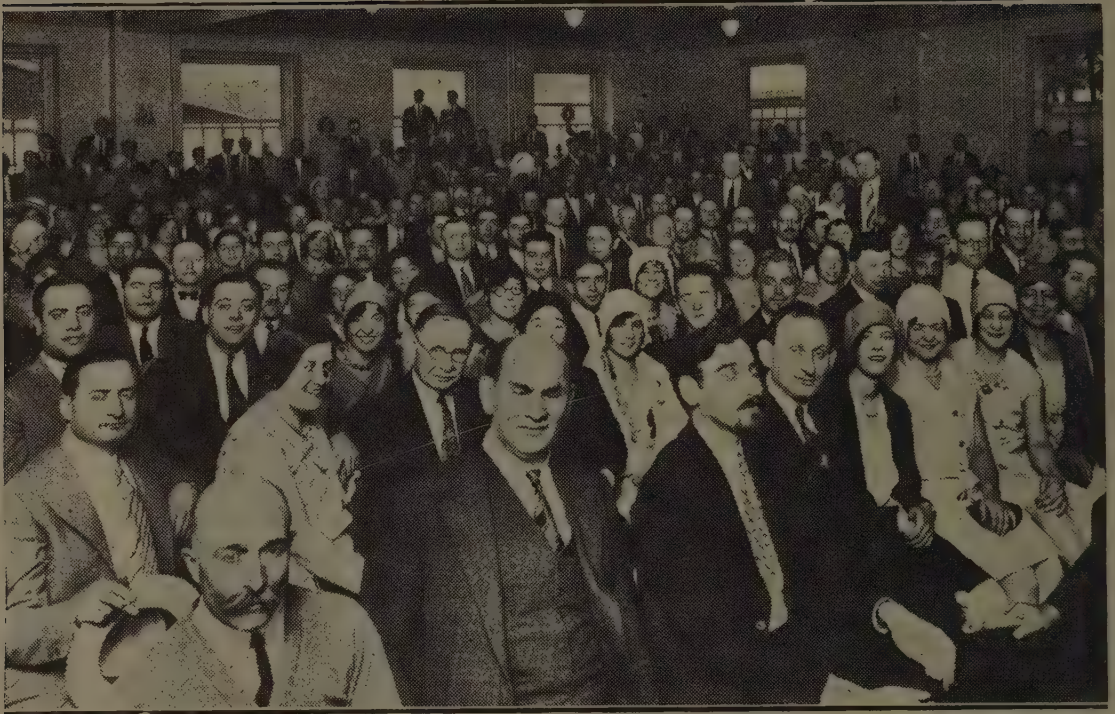
The Amalgamated reasoned, however, that inherently no workers can permanently remain hostile to trade unionism. If their interest could not be aroused it was not because they were at fault but because the methods employed by the union were bad. A new strategy was required.

For years the accepted procedure in practically all union campaigning was the distribution of leaflets, the gathering of the workers into mass meetings and the calling of strikes immediately thereafter. Hundreds of thousands of dollars were spent in such manner and the best it ever accomplished in Philadelphia was getting about ten per cent of the workers to heed the strike call. To repeat the procedure would be to admit defeat before starting. Almost immediately after the campaign of 1928, if not a new, then a more concentrated move of quiet educational work was started upon. This sort of effort was the backbone behind the 1929 victories.

As many organizers as could be found to fit into the Philadelphia scene were gathered in the Quaker City. Lists of workers employed in the various shops were carefully prepared and every evening these organizers would quietly go to the workers' homes and talk unionism and Amalgamated. There were no threats. No attempts at browbeating. Just kindly presentation of the union point of view with the benefits which organization would bring. Every organizer kept careful notes of the reactions of the various workers. Hostile, disinterested, mildly sympathetic, enthusiastic, were some of the phrases listed.

After months of such individual attention even more organizers were brought on the scene. The same work was continued until almost every worker in the industry was interviewed, pedigreed and classified. Then President Sidney Hillman took the controlling hand in the situation. The ablest organizers the country over were ordered to the front. And the final finishing touches to the quiet educational work, before the more picturesque developments of strike calls, were entered

A STRIKE MEETING



Clothing workers from the H. Daroff & Son plant, one of the largest in Philadelphia.

upon. Now all efforts were concentrated on individual shops. No worker was permitted to remain an unknown quantity as far as the general organization committee was concerned. Before the workers of the Navytone Co. were called upon to lay down their tools, the union knew how many would obey and how many would remain loyal to the employer. By June 13 the Amalgamated felt it time to make the first overt move. With what success has already been told.

Strike calls came thick and fast soon thereafter. On July 16 the Progressive firm with 400 workers was involved. On July 27, two weeks after the first strike call the Navytone Co. capitulated and signed an agreement with the Amalgamated. The Progressive fell in line on July 23, its strike having lasted only a week. And so it went until the largest firms in the business, with H. Daroff & Son, the biggest and key shop in the city included in the list, made peace with the union and entered into contractual relations.

Workers on strike are different human beings from those being approached as union prospects. While the latter must be satisfied with promises and for whose immediate welfare the union need not concern itself the former must be given concrete evidence of the good faith of the organization. They must be kept in good humor; free from worry and be assured in the

strength of the organization in which they just had placed their trust to carry them through to a victorious return to their jobs. Especially in a situation where many single industries are affected, each shop called out on strike must be utilized as added propaganda to help pull the workers out of other shops. This was the reasoning of the campaign strategists.

Maintaining a Strike Spirit

In order to accomplish these ends the numerous shop meetings held were utilized for various purposes. Inspirational talks to maintain enthusiasm; singing, piano playing and dancing to develop a memory of well-being to draw the workers willingly to the meetings; announcements of donations from other Amalgamated centers to prove to the strikers that many friends are rushing to their assistance and so give them a sense of safety. And finally the strike benefit which now came as regularly to the embattled workers as formerly their wages did. Perhaps, after all other reasons are duly weighed and given their just places in the causes that made for success, the daily announcements of donations from Chicago, New York, Rochester and other cities together with the cash payments as evidence of the sound financial standing of the union played as large a part in sweeping the Philadelphia clothing industry into the Amalgamated bag

as any other. The sense of security is deeply ingrained in man's makeup, and whoever can assure him safety gets his loyalty. That the Amalgamated understood this is proved by the fact that the first three cities named above, alone, through assessments of their membership contributed \$271,500 towards the relief of the strikers.

Strangely enough for Philadelphia, at least, the strike was the most peaceful of any conducted in that city. Only one arrest has so far been recorded and that was of a striker who the day before had become a citizen and was celebrating this momentous event by overindulgence in "Dago Red." He was clamorously insistent on the police knowing that he had rights which he was free to exercise. He was arrested on a charge of disorderly conduct just to prove to him that even citizens are limited to certain docorums. Perhaps this fact, that there has been no clubbing of pickets, no breaking of skulls, no wholesale rides in the Black Maria and stiff prison sentences is a matter of luck or an act of God. But the anomaly remains that in the face of the most drastic injunction picketing still continues and no one is hurt. It may be possible that the fear of the Senate investigation into the underlying causes of the issuance of that injunction may have so paralyzed the judge that he is in no mood at present to order its mandates obeyed.

Judicial Tyranny

Whatever may be the reasons for this police laxity, the injunction issued against the strikers makes another chapter in American judicial tyranny. Under other circumstances it could have remained operative in its entirety and even now is a sample of court autocracy which may at any time become effective anywhere else. Enumeration of the most objectionable clauses of the injunction will show how great the need is for labor to curb the courts if headway is to be made.

The Amalgamated is enjoined and restrained—

(a) From combining and conspiring together with any other persons, firms or corporations to interfere with and from interfering with the employment of any persons by the complainants.

(b) From combining or conspiring together with any other persons, firms or corporations to bring about a strike or strikes in the factories of complainants or any of them, and thereby interfere with the employment of any persons by the complainants or the production or shipment of their goods.

(1) Unlawfully interfere with the complainants' employees in going to or from the complainants' place of business.

(3) Interfere in any way with the complainants, their agents, or their employees in the legitimate conduct, management or operation of their business.

(5) Interfere in any way with the employees of the complainants in their desire to work for the complainants, and especially to visit the homes of the employees of the complainants and threaten or insult such employees and their families.

(8) Attempt, by threats, intimidation, or otherwise, to solicit, communicate or argue with any person or persons

employed by the complainants or who may desire to work for them and who indicate their unwillingness to be solicited.

(9) Picket on or near the premises of the complainants or on the highways leading thereto in any manner with the purpose and for the effect of intimidating, annoying, embarrassing or through fear exercising moral coercion over those lawfully employed by complainants or who may desire to enter the employ of the complainants, whether actual force or violence be used or not.

(10) Use any moneys or other property of the Amalgamated Clothing workers of America, or any other person or persons, for the purpose of employing its members or others to assault, threaten, intimidate, insult, annoy, follow, or direct abusive or derisive language or approbrious epithets against the employees of the complainants or any persons who desire to enter the employ of the complainants or use such funds or moneys in aid or furtherance of a reward for the doing of any of the acts hereinabove enjoined.

That is all the injunction stops the Amalgamated from doing. It is not enjoined from spending its afternoons playing dominoes.

The success of the Amalgamated in Philadelphia buries at least one contention beyond resurrection, "It can't be done." Those who meet criticism with excuses will now have the Philadelphia incident to reckon with as a come back. In the second place the tactics employed show in part how it can be done. And finally it revives the old hope, which in some quarters has been abandoned, that there is still the spirit among the workers to be daring and courageous in attempts at their own advancement if shown the way how.

There is the picture of one of the men in one of the shops upon whom fell the task of blowing the whistle for the call of the strike. Through past experience he knew that his lot was not a happy one for "dicks" were ready to pounce on him at the first sound, beat him up and throw him down the stairs. But experience lends ideas. Stealthily he went to his locker, secured his hat and coat under his arm and blowing his whistle like mad raced to the door before the hired strong arm boys knew what he was about. Pell mell his fellow workers followed him out into the street.

In the Pincus Brothers' shop the employers were prepared for the strike. The bright management conceived of the idea to close all exits leading from the workshops. When the strike whistle came all the workers picked up their hats and coats and quietly made for the doors. They were locked. Under such circumstances it takes but one individual to think up an alternative. The individual was there and he found the window leading to the fire escapes as the alternative. In a twinkling of an eye the fire escapes, unused for a decade and filthy, were alive with human bodies wriggling down the ladders. In five minutes the street in front of the shop was choked with strikers, covered with the dirt of the fire escapes but very happy over the way they outwitted the boss.

There is still heroism and courage and self determination among workers. There is still the desire and hope and the will to achieve. And it CAN be done.

The Garment Strike Settlement

A Novel Industrial Phenomenon

By WM. BLOOM

THE Settlement of the recent strike in the ladies' garment industry of New York was hailed by the leaders of the union as an "epoch-making general strike" which resulted in a "signal and speedy victory for the workers." Yet, the victorious strike was largely made possible through the cooperation of the employers. It was a strike in which the employers helped the union to regain control over the industry,—a rather strange phenomenon in the industrial history of this country.

Queer as it may sound the cloak manufacturers are professed believers in trade union control. They have come to believe in it despite the fact that for many years they had vigorously opposed collective bargaining, and despite the fact that they had twice locked out their workers with the deliberate intent to destroy the union after it was established in 1910.

However, the cloak manufacturers have come to believe in trade union control not because of a change of heart, but because of industrial changes. As long as they were the dominant factor in the industry, they were hostile to trade union control and collective bargaining. Within the past few years, however, sweeping changes in production and distribution have taken place. Manufacturing directly for retailers on advance orders has given way to wholesale merchandizing of ready to deliver garments, and sub-manufacturing for jobbers has replaced manufacturing directly for retailers. This jobbing-sub-manufacturing system has practically destroyed the manufacturers. The jobbers now control seventy-five per cent of the annual output of ladies' garments in New York. They have risen to dominance mainly because as wholesale merchants of diverse styles and qualities of garments they can sell at a lower profit per garment and yet make higher profits on the aggregate annual sales (some of them doing an annual business of close to ten million dollars), and because they can have their garments made more cheaply through sub-manufacturers and non-union shops than can the manufacturers.

With the rise of the jobbing-sub-manufacturing system the manufacturers were driven for self-protection to collaboration with the union. They needed a strong union to enforce labor standards in the sub-manufacturing shops, and to organize the non-union shops, so as to make it less possible for the jobbers to undersell them.

But owing to the strike of 1926, which lasted for more than twenty weeks and which was lost because of the stupid strike strategy and incompetence of the Communist leadership, and owing to the factional struggle which ensued as a result of the expulsion of

the Communist leadership by the International, widespread demoralization beset the industry. Non-union sub-manufacturers developed by the hundreds. In the union shops standard hours of labor, pay for overtime and legal holidays were compromised. Piece-work, which had been abolished in 1919, became rampant. The union was neither able to organize the non-union shops nor to enforce labor standards in the sub-manufacturing shops. Every shop became a self-constituted dominion.

Collapse of Union Control

This demoralized situation was also widespread in the so-called inside shops of the manufacturers. Through the reorganization right to discharge ten per cent of their workers each season gained as a result of the strike of 1926, the manufacturers were able to whip their workers into submission, and to force them to enter into secret deals. They were also able to discharge the militant elements and shop chairmen who refused to compromise themselves.

Militancy in the shops which was to a great extent the cause of friction in the garment industry thus became practically dead. The morale of the workers became shattered, and their discipline broke down. They lost faith in their union and refused to pay dues. The sweatshop with all the abhorrent characteristics of the padrone system and inhuman hours of work began to make deep inroads. The industry was in chaos, and the union as a controlling factor had virtually collapsed.

With the expiration of the collective agreement on June 1, 1929, the leaders of the union faced the climax. Financially the union was bankrupt, with a paralyzing debt of about two million dollars. Morally, a feeling of despondency pervaded the loyal rank and file members and the paid officers—a feeling that the union was doomed to perdition, and that nothing short of a miracle could save it.

The leaders of the International, on the other hand, refused to consider the situation hopeless and the union doomed beyond redemption. With their positions and prestige at stake, they could not assume a defeatist attitude. The expiration of the agreement was to them a turning point for the better. With the signing of the new agreement they believed that the workers would be forced to gravitate to the union, and in an open struggle with the employers, the union would emerge victorious.

Spurred on by this overpowering hope, they proceeded to submit new demands to the Industrial Council, the association of the manufacturers. Since the manufacturers had suffered most because of the in-

THEY VOTE AYE



Garment workers at one of the mass meetings in New York, enthusiastic for the new agreement.

dustrial demoralization, they hoped the Industrial Council would be disposed to make favorable concessions. In return they planned a general stoppage, with the intention of tying up the production of the jobbers and of weeding out non-union shops.

A Challenge to the Union

Early in March, 1928, the Industrial Council had announced that it was "committed to a whole-hearted effort to reach an understanding with the union without the customary prelude of disastrous belligerence." When, however, its representatives met the union representatives in conference, they showed no disposition to make any concessions. They maintained that they did not wish to become the victims of additional burdens in the industry, and that so long as the union was unable to enforce labor standards in the entire industry, it was futile for them to make any additional concessions, or even to carry on negotiations.

In taking this position, the Industrial Council challenged the strength of the union. The representatives of the union held forth the threat of a general strike. The manufacturers retaliated by accepting the threat, with the promise that they would "talk business" if the union could demonstrate that it could tie up the entire industry and rally all of the workers to the union.

A similar attitude was taken by the sub-manufacturers' and jobbers' associations. They, too, desired a general strike. They too, wished to see the return of a strong union. Since these two associations were in contractual relations with the union, they were less able to escape the control of the union. The sub-manufacturers needed a strong union to organize the non-union shops and to enforce labor standards in the sub-standard shops that were undermining their existence. The

jobbers, on the other hand, while considering themselves merchants and disclaiming any responsibility for labor standards in the shops working for them, needed a strong union to organize the non-union jobbers that thrived on non-union production.

In addition, the jobber was faced with a new enemy. Chain stores and mail order houses have recently begun to farm out raw materials to sub-manufacturers. Since these retailers are not in contractual relations with the union, they are free to employ non-union sub-manufacturers. This latest development, the retail-sub-manufacturing system, has seriously affected the jobbers, and also forced them to become believers in union control. They favored a strike so that the chain stores and mail order houses might be curbed in dealing with non-union sub-manufacturers.

The Settlement of the Strike

To the great surprise of the leaders of the union, the workers responded to the call of the general strike en masse. With the workers out of the shops and production tied up, the problem of settling the strike loomed up. To expedite matters Governor Franklin Roosevelt stepped into the situation. At his suggestion Mr. Raymond V. Ingersoll, impartial chairman in the industry, and Lieut. Gov. Herbert H. Lehman, who had been a member of the Advisory Commission appointed by Governor Alfred E. Smith in 1924, and therefore familiar with the problems of the industry, were to assist in the conferences and help bring about a speedy settlement of the strike.

At the conference with the Industrial Council it became evident that, though the manufacturers wanted a strong union for self-protection, they had no desire to make any concessions. It was, however, largely through the tenacity of the leaders of the union and through the mediation of Mr. Ingersoll and Lieut. Gov. Lehman that the union succeeded in affecting a favorable settlement.

Viewing the new agreement as a whole, the union made several important gains. It succeeded in modifying the discharge clause so that it would not be used to reduce wages, to decrease the number of workers in the shops, or to force the workers to enter into collusion with the employers on labor standards. Under the new agreement a worker discharged under the reorganization clause because of his activity as a shop chairman or because of other union activity, can appeal to the impartial chairman for reinstatement. Much as the manufacturers opposed these modifications, they had to grant them under pressure of the leaders of the union, who insisted that it would be impossible otherwise to rebuild the morale of the workers and to enforce labor standards. In return, the union agreed to strengthen the Industrial Council by encouraging the independent manufacturers to join it. In addition, the union retained the forty-hour week and the week-work system which the employers wished to abolish.

On the question of non-union production, important modifications were made. The jobbers and manufacturers who deal with sub-manufacturers are to confine

their production to the shops which belong to the sub-manufacturers' association, so as to make it more possible for the union to enforce labor standards. The sub-manufacturers, on the other hand, are to give preference to the jobbers and manufacturers belonging to their respective associations. All the factors thus collaborated to make their respective organizations strong.

In addition a Joint Commission was formed composed of the impartial chairman, and an equal number of representatives from the different factors in the industry, with three prominent citizens to represent the public, appointed by the Governor. The purpose of this commission is to analyze and investigate problems affecting the industry, with the object of making possible a more stringent enforcement of labor standards in the shops, and to curtail unfair competition in the industry by eliminating sweatshops and sub-standard shops.

Effects of the Strike

The greatest gain of the strike, however, was its wholesome effects on the morale of the workers. The shortness of the strike, after the sad experience of 1926 and the important gains, instilled in them new hopes and confidence in the union. They returned to their shops jubilant, with a feeling that they again had a union, and with the determination to observe more strictly union conditions. The strike has also resulted in the destruction of whatever influence the Communists may have had among the garment workers. The union has practically regained its former membership.

Above all, the union has, to a considerable extent, regained its prestige and power. It is more capable of enforcing labor standards or taking stringent action against employers who violate union rules, and of disciplining the workers for making deals with their employers. It is for these reasons that the leaders of the union regard the outcome of the strike as the "rebirth of the union."

To exercise full control over the industry, however, is still a great problem for the union. There are still hundreds of non-union shops which can be neither organized nor controlled by the union. There are many small non-union jobbers who thrive on this non-union production, and can, therefore, escape the control of the union. In addition, the demoralization which spread to an alarming extent during the past three years has made such deep inroads that it is practically impossible to eradicate it within so short a time. The practice of employers and workers to enter into secret compromises on labor standards and to violate standard hours of work cannot be completely uprooted.

In struggling with these problems at present the union is seriously handicapped by a bad fall season. Many shops, after having been idle since April, are working part time. Fall seasons for the past few years have been especially bad for the operators because of the fur trimmings which require so much hand work. Under these conditions it is extremely difficult to or-

ganize non-union shops and to enforce labor standards strictly. The masses well realize the problems the union is facing but are hopeful that it will gradually regain control.

Prospects for the Union

Still, elated as one may feel about the resurrection of the union, viewing its prospects in the light of the problems of the garment industry, one cannot help but be apprehensive. The garment industry has been regarded as a "sick" industry—sick, because it thrives on sweatshop conditions instead of on modern technique and efficiency in production. It is a highly stylistic, small shop industry which cannot operate on modern standardized, large scale production, and which requires little capital to exist. It is an industry of small fly-by-night mushroom shops which grow faster than the union can organize them, and which, as a result of keen cut-throat competition, die before the season is over. Because it is a small shop industry, the smaller the units of production, the easier it is for the employer to force his workers to enter in collusion on labor standards, and the harder it is for the union to control it. Because of this cheaper labor cost, plus a very low overhead cost (each little shop consisting of several partners who work day and night), it is also difficult to prevent the jobber and manufacturer from dealing with them. For while collectively they desire a strong union to organize the non-union shops and to enforce labor standards in the sub-standard shops in order that production cost may be equalized and competition be less keen, individually they find it more profitable to evade union control.

The union, therefore, cannot rely much upon the collaboration of employers and jobbers in organizing the non-union shops and in enforcing labor standards, upon which its prospects hinge. Only through union pressure can the employers and jobbers be made to live up to the terms of the collective agreement. Only in an intelligent, aggressive leadership spurred on by a militant rank and file backed by a well disciplined mass lies the hope of the union.

Indeed, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union came into life as a result of painful struggles. Whatever gains it achieved in general improvements of working conditions and whatever resistance it offered against the attempts of the employers to increase the hours of labor, to deflate wages, and to abolish the week-work system, were primarily because of its aggressiveness. Whatever gains it was able to obtain from the employers in the settlement of the recent strike were primarily because of the response of the masses to the call of the union and to the aggressiveness of its leaders. Likewise, any economic improvements in the future will depend primarily upon whether the union will develop an intelligent, militant leadership that will not substitute cynicism for practical trade unionism, and upon whether it will succeed in rejuvenating the zeal and idealism which made it possible for the International to rise to the height of its heyday.

Progressives Forge Ahead

New York First To Organize

AT a rousing meeting held on Friday, September 27, at which nearly two hundred progressives were present, the New York branch of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action was organized. An executive committee was formed which is to plan a program for winter activities to be presented to the next meeting of the branch.

A. J. Kennedy, treasurer of the C. P. L. A., opened the meeting with a statement as to its purpose and then turned the chair over to A. J. Muste. In outlining the events in which progressives should interest themselves, Brother Muste presented in detail some of the issues involved. The most important thing is still the organization of the masses of the unskilled and semi-skilled of the basic industries. "No matter what advances may be made at other points," he said, "if no inroads are made by the American Labor movement upon these basic industries then these advances in the long run will come to nothing."

Referring to the tendency in the labor movement to resent criticism of even the mildest sort, Muste maintained that such opinion must be smashed. "Some people think we can't ever smile out of the corner of our mouths without being an enemy of the A. F. of L." He also enumerated the many things the C. P. L. A. had already done in its short life which were evidences of the significance of the movement. Similar branches to that in New York City are being started in many other centers like Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Denver.

The meeting was then thrown open for discussion of policies and activities the New York Branch was to engage in. Dr. Abram L. Harris, Assistant Professor of Economics of Howard University, expressed the opinion that negro labor will be very much interested in the development of this progressive movement. "In the interest of the white workers," he said, "the negro workers must be organized. The negro worker has been used as a means to defeat the purpose of trade unionism for the past fifty years. They have been used as an industrial army which the employers would not use at other times but during a strike or during a period of industrial exploitation. If the work of the labor movement is to be successful it must go into the basic industries where there are large numbers of Negro workers, such as coal and steel. I believe we can form an organization and build up certain groups of people who are interested in progressive labor action."

Suggestions were made for a speakers' bureau to present the view of progressives at union meetings. It was also suggested to have lists of people willing to serve on picket lines and to distribute literature.

Views were presented that the C. P. L. A. should not satisfy itself with mere criticism of A. F. of L. action but that positive and practical activities should be engaged in which would carry out the platform of

the progressives. Contacts should be made with workers in the organized and unorganized industries in order to make the foundation widespread among the wage earners. Statements showing definite action along the lines expressed were made from the floor from members of the C. P. L. A.

Mark Starr, organizer for the National Council of Labor Colleges of Great Britain and at present visiting instructor at Brookwood Labor College, felt that President Hoover should be urged to free Mooney and Billings as a fitting compliment to Ramsay MacDonald during his visit to the United States.

The members of the New York Executive Committee are: Mrs. Sara Bernheim, William Bloom, Jennie Carliph, Nathan Fine, Walter Frank, Mary Hillyer, Leon Koenig, Joseph Kucher, Mrs. Lilly Lore, I. Laderman, Charles Maute, Israel Mufson, Mrs. Etta O'Neill, Floria Pinkney, Nathan Riesel, Rebecca Shapiro, Louis Stanley, Joseph Walsh.

The meeting adjourned in a high state of enthusiasm and the Executive Committee resolved to meet almost at once to prepare a program to be presented to the branch shortly.

* * *

Organizations develop because of fundamental needs which cannot be met with old tools. This is the reason, as it has so often been pointed out before, for the spontaneous reception of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. Simultaneously with the open-armed welcome throughout the country comes increasing evidence from sources that can by no means be considered hostile to the American Federation of Labor, of dissatisfactions with situations that only a program, as advanced by the C. P. L. A. can meet.

THE UNION ADVOCATE, official organ of the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, in its issue of August 29, deplors the fact that "criticism of the labor movement is not accepted by some and is construed as a sort of disloyalty and treachery; nothing but praise and laudation are relished by blind devotees."

But is there no room for criticism, it asks, when out of approximately 30 million workers engaged in useful occupations, less than five million are organized after a century of organization effort. "There must be something wrong with the methods employed to cause such a disparity between the potential and actual labor organization."

"Self-deception," it goes on to say, "is the worst sin against progress; it is closely akin to self-satisfaction which blocks all efforts at improvement of methods."

If self-deception is a cardinal sin then the greatest sinner is the International Labor News Service, the heretofore semi-official but now thoroughly repudiated news agency of the American Federation of Labor, of

which Matthew Woll is president. Accepting the grossly exaggerated figures issued by the U. S. Department of Labor of the gains in A. F. of L. membership made in 1929, it released without further investigation the claim that the net increase during the past year was 750,000 and in another release rebuked David J. Saposs, for rightly interpreting the unscientific methods by which this figure was arrived at. But now comes the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and gives the lie to the I. L. N. S. figures. Being responsible for its assertions the Executive Council reports the total increase for 1929 to be only 37,482.

It is not with any degree of satisfaction that this discrepancy in figures is pointed out but merely to suggest that the International Labor News Service is not doing the American Labor movement any service by encouraging the art of self deception which THE UNION ADVOCATE rightly considers "the worst sin." Already, assuming the I. L. N. S. statement to be correct, several prominent labor men are expressing high hopes about organized labor, pointing to the fictitious 28 per cent increase in membership as an augury of the future rapid growth of the A. F. of L. THE JOURNAL OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS AND OPERATORS, in its August issue, similarly misled, went so far as to draw a membership chart, showing a total strength for 1929 of 3,500,000 adherents. In its enthusiasm it predicts that: "By November, 1929, the membership is expected to hit the 4,000,000 mark."

This, however, is not the only disservice to labor the International Labor News Service is guilty of. Within the recent past it sent out two other news items, one referring to a dance of Negroes and whites in a Chicago hall in which Communists were interested and the other dealing with the trial of the 16 defendants at Gastonia, N. C. In both instances these stories were so framed as to call practically for lynching bees at the expense of the Communists. Aroused at the incitation to possible murder, the editors of THE NATION protested to William Green. In reply President Green repudiates Mr. Woll's news agency as having no connection with the A. F. of L. and disclaims any responsibility for anything that may appear therein. Thus is the matter settled as far as the I. L. N. S. is concerned. But it remains for labor editors to become informed of the kind of press service the agency attempts to put over as "labor news."

* * *

The official figures of net gains of the American Federation of Labor during 1929 shows up in better manner than any progressive could express the inadequacy of the present policies of the labor movement. With beating drums and strong gestures the high sounding slogan of "Double the Membership in 1929" was vociferously launched. While no one expected a 100 per cent gain for the year, a movement sincerely interested in its own status and capable of meeting issues, it, itself raised, would have found a way to make a far better showing than to report an increase of less than one and three-tenths per cent. At this rate it will take the American Federation of Labor close to eighty years to announce the successful cul-

HE MUST BE ENLISTED



The Negro cannot be ignored in any organization effort, as Dr. Harris declared in his speech before New York progressive laborites.

mination of its 1928 slogan. Verily, there is great need for the C. P. L. A.

* * *

The Conference for Progressive Labor Action is not without its immediate influence in the shaping of A. F. of L. policies. One of the recommendations to be presented at the Toronto convention by the Executive Council is the drafting of a model compulsory old-age pension bill, to be submitted to the legislature of every State next year. It was only a year ago that the American Federation of Labor expressed itself as doubtful of the worthiness of old-age pensions through legislation and the best it could offer for the relief of the aged was a recommendation that "the American Federation of Labor ask the Congress of the United States to make the necessary appropriations and to authorize a commission on old age income to study the problem and make a report."

It was the din created by the progressive laborites at this indifference to the need of used up victims of modern industry and against the Woll-National Civic Federation combination which no doubt forced the Executive Council to the whole-hearted endorsement of an old age pension bill. The C. P. L. A. can rightly claim much credit for the change of heart of the A. F. of L. There will be more victories in the future.

* * *

Another plank in the C. P. L. A. platform is meeting with hearty approval by various sections of the labor movement. The call to labor to cease being victims of a non-partisan political philosophy, as out-

worn as it is futile, and to develop its own political party that can be relied upon to serve labor's needs, is being answered definitely by many local labor political movements that are springing up. Among those to be noted is the Niagara Falls Independent Labor Party, organized by the Central Council of Niagara Falls, N. Y. Its opening campaign was launched on September 21 with a mass meeting in Eagle's Hall. Among those who took part in the event were James H. Maurer and A. J. Muste. The presiding officer was Arthur R. Alexander, president of the Central Labor Council.

* * *

It is too bad that otherwise reliable sources of information, newspapers that have built up an enviable reputation for honest reporting, should suddenly forget their obligation to the public and in the tumult of hysteria, lose their sense of dignity. Especially should honesty of news presentation be the sacred trust of labor papers for labor has suffered so much through misrepresentation.

LABOR, the official mouthpiece of the railroad labor organizations published at Washington, has always assumed a progressive attitude towards labor problems; was the staunchest supporter of the Plumb Plan and of the LaFollette-Wheeler independent political labor campaign of 1924. Its foreign correspondence filled a decided need in American labor journalism. It was an all around live newspaper, ably and honestly edited.

Of late, however, in an evident attempt to get closer to the leadership of the American Federation of Labor, it began to assume some of the follies of which they have been consistent exponents. One of the first signs of this retrogression was the disappearance of its foreign correspondence. The second sign can be found in its handling of the news relating to the birth of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. In its issues of June 29, LABOR captioned this momentous event: "A. F. of L. Warns Unions Against Communists."

Despite the fact that several letters have since been written to Edward Keating, the editor, pointing to the injustice of such a misleading headline; and despite the fact that the program of the C. P. L. A. was sent to Mr. Keating, no acknowledgment of their receipt was ever received and no corrected statement appeared in the subsequent columns of LABOR.

LABOR is suffering a relapse from its previous progressive policy and only the strengthening of the progressive forces of the American Labor movement will bring it back to its former prestige and vigor.

* * *

Frank L. Palmer reports a very successful summer out in Denver where interesting things always happen. His story will be found on another page. The bunch in Denver has always been in the van of the parade and now are quite happy over carrying out progressive educational policies.

* * *

It will be with much satisfaction that C. P. L. A. members will read about the success of the Southern Textile Labor Conference which was held at Rock

Hill, S. C., on September 28 and 29. While the full story of this significant event cannot be told in this issue of LABOR AGE, the news that the progressives had much to do with its organization and program will hearten those who are interested in a reawakened labor movement. Bill Ross, of the Baltimore Labor College and definitely of the progressive element, was designated as organizing secretary of the Conference by Vice-President Gorman of the U. T. W. Tom Tippet was another contributor. May the progressives multiply.

* * *

Carl Holderman, representative of the American Federation of full Fashioned Hosiery Workers for the New York and New Jersey Districts; member of the Executive Council of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor; and Vice Chairman of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, does not like to go to court but when it involves putting a would-be labor briber on record, he just dotes on it.

Last May a man calling himself Ralph Robinson, although later his true name was learned to be O. Griswold Williams, approached Holderman with the proposition to employ Weisbord in organizing one of the hosiery mills and for a certain consideration from the employer, to have him called off. Vice Chairman Holderman seemed to be agreeable to the idea and led Robinson or Williams on until the whole plan was exposed. When Holderman had the goods on the plotter he swore out a warrant for the latter which led to the arrest and conviction of the would-be briber. Williams was fined \$500 and was put on probation for five years.

Williams learned to his great sorrow that it costs real money to attempt to bribe a progressive labor leader.

* * *

Several pamphlets, bearing on the issues involved with reference to American Labor and the progressive program, are now in process of preparation. One of the first ready for distribution is a reprint of A. J. Muste's article on "The Folly of Non-Partisan Politics" which appeared in the September issue of LABOR AGE.

Orders for single copies or for bundles will be received at this office. Those interested in understanding the significance of the present A. F. of L. policy on this question and the need for a change in that policy as well as those desiring to gain more adherents for independent political action should order copies of this pamphlet immediately.

* * *

The Conference for progressive Labor Action is glad to announce that Israel Mufson, member of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and former secretary of the Labor College of Philadelphia, has been engaged as executive secretary. His addition to the staff of the Conference, because of his experience in editorial and organization work, will aid greatly to develop the program of the progressives.

Flashes from the Labor World

Police Get Away With Murder

The labor struggle, we sometimes hear, is moving into a higher plane. Strikes, defiant picketing, mass oratory, nation-wide relief drives are passé. The newer, the higher strategy calls for economic statesmanship of the purest water, we are told; the old-time labor agitator with his weird talk about class struggle, solidarity and the fighting spirit of the workers belongs to a period which now is entombed in John R. Commons' history of the American labor movement.

To one through whose fingers pass telegrams, airmail stories and the regular flow of labor news detailing the far-flung battle of working men and women for union recognition and a better life, this talk of the higher strategy has always seemed somewhat far-fetched. To the active labor news editor, in any event, the facts as reported from a national staff of correspondents do not jibe with the theories of the ultra-sophisticates who expound—interestingly enough over coffee cups in well appointed restaurants — the newer strategy.

* * *

They will tell you of course that the trial of the three coal and iron policemen in western Pennsylvania for the savage murder of Miner John Barkoski is an exceptional case. It could only happen in western Pennsylvania, where Mellon reigns! Only there could a defenseless worker, objectionable to the anti-labor bosses of the coal and steel regions, be dragged into the private barracks of a private army and beaten to death with brutish malice.

But only in last month's "Labor Age" did Art Shields, Federated Press correspondent in the south, tell of the savage terror of the Dixie lumber kings against the Timber Workers' or-

ganizers. On another page in this month's "Labor Age" is the story of the terror in Gaston county. Wherever in the great unorganized, basic industries of this country workers arise to demand elemental rights, a bloody story is told. Labor historians do not know to this day how many wobblies were killed as the Verona approached the dock in Everett, Wash., on Bloody Sunday in 1916 to gain free speech rights. Nor how many Butte metal miners have given up their lives for

be punished for their crime. When Lyster and Watts wavered in their testimony and contradicted themselves on the stand, he abruptly dismissed the thugs without further cross-examination. No such lack of enthusiasm was shown by the defense counsel, who numbered in their midst the sharpest of the Mellon criminal attorneys. "I ask you," shouted Attorney Pritchard, after a two-hour harangue to the jury, "to say of my client, Lieut. Walter J. Lyster, a Pennsylvania boy, an American soldier boy in France, that he is not guilty!"

Lyster murdered another miner in the 1922 coal strike. His companion has a criminal record. The story of their cruel punishment of Barkoski, in which his head showed 13 punctures and his chest caved in when touched by his widow, made the courtroom gasp. The net result was a not guilty verdict, with the state promising as the result of public outcry to bring the three sadists to trial again for—

involuntary manslaughter!
* * *

THE NEW STRATEGY



Open shoppery's answer to industrial problems. Salve is tried at Elizabethton and the lash at Marion.

their union in a half century struggle. Nor how many farmers were flogged, tarred and feathered in their Non-partisan League uprising. Nor how many steel workers were beaten within an inch of their lives, jailed and terrorized during the great steel strike. Nor how many miners have braved operators' law and terror.

The Barkoski murder trial in Pittsburgh was a stark example of class justice, the kind that dominates when class issues are sharp and profits are challenged. The state assigned an unimportant assistant prosecutor to handle the case. He failed to develop testimony, to quiz defense witnesses sharply, to demand that the three coal and iron policemen, hirelings of the Mellon-owned Pittsburgh Coal Co.,

What have advocates of the newer strategy to say to the Marion strikers, who have just buried three of their fellow-workers, shot to death on the picket line by boss-controlled deputy sheriffs? There the union had yielded on most of its important demands to Pres. Baldwin of the Marion Mfg. Co. after a hard-fought 9-week strike. No union recognition, a reduction in pay for many workers with the reduction from 60-65 hours to 55 hours a week and flimsy promises of worker-management cooperation committees. But to Baldwin it was only a scrap of paper. Not satisfied with the union agreement to sacrifice a dozen of its most energetic workers, Baldwin

banned over a hundred union members from the mill despite promises of no discrimination.

It was no case of northern agitators stirring up the mill people. Rather they strained at the leash, ordered a new strike vote and went out again, as the Elizabethton rayon workers had been compelled to. The first morning of their new strike, Sheriff Adkins and his crew of specially deputized, mill paid gunmen ordered them, under the terms of an anti-picketing injunction easily procured from a pliant judge, to break up their line. The strikers resolutely stood their ground. The gunmen fired volleys. Three strikers fell dead, many were wounded. It ended picketing for that day.

* * *

Some day the news from Detroit will be along the same lines. Robert L. Cruden, of Federated Press, reports from Detroit Ford plans to fire 30,000 men by winter. It used to be that in Henry's humane factories men were not fired, but merely switched to impossible jobs in other departments, where an easy excuse soon offered itself to dispense with their services because of incompetence or incapacity. But now Ford's slave drivers have done away with that refinement of personnel work. Fire, is the order of the day. One man with the company 18 years, reports Cruden, was summarily discharged when seen talking with another worker while waiting for stock. A break is coming in Detroit and it will be just too bad for the A. F. of L. if it finds its outworn craft union structure unable to cope with a mass revolt of auto workers.

* * *

Union metal trades workers, many of whom are being bombarded by big navy talk from their own union officials because of the rather thin argument that a bigger navy means more work, should give a look to the lineup of the three big armament firms involved in the sensational Shearer expose being aired before a senatorial investigating committee. First of all there is Bethlehem Steel and Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corp., headed by Weepin' Charlie Schwab, now being sued by the Department of Justice for \$10,000,000 for "extortionate and unconscionable profits" exacted from the government in wartime. Charlie,

always the perfect patriot and dollar-a-year man, according to the reluctant admission of Mr. Mellon's treasury department, defrauded old Uncle Sam out of \$10,000,000—who knows how many millions more—for helping him win the war. And how welcome unions are in Charlie's steel plants and shipyards! Steel strikers still remember. Then there is Homer Ferguson of the Newport News shipbuilding yard, who boasts that he has "cleaned out" the unions in his plant. Brown-Boveri no better. All scab, all patriotic to the last dollar, all lusting after bigger and better navies in the pious hope that some day the world will go up in a burst of flame as the British and American navies battle each other at Armageddon.

* * *

Santiago Iglesias and William Green, heads of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, are beginning to wonder just how safe it will be to marshal their Latin-American delegates to Havana for the coming P. A. F. L. congress. Not that Dictator Machado would object very much to the political complexion of most of them, if they are like the aggregate observed by your reporter at the Washington congress in 1927. There at least half the delegates—especially the Cubans—seemed to represent their petty government dictatorships rather than any observable labor movement. The Guatemalans, the Peruvians and the Cubans literally whined in behalf of their governments, so that even Matthew Woll had to reprove them for their lack of dignity and honesty. Most of South America was unrepresented—including Argentina, Brazil and Chile.

To prove that the P. A. F. L. had won a real victory in achieving freedom for safe and sane labor organizations in Cuba, the 1930 congress was planned for Havana which had been graced by the Pan-American Union congress and the Coolidge visit on a battleship in 1928. But the sugar workers remain unorganized, the tobacco and cigar workers struggle painfully for elementary rights, even the rail workers find organization imperilled. How a labor congress can ignore mentioning these facts, and how Dictator Machado can avoid imprisoning or deporting such critics is not plain to Green or Iglesias. Por-

to Rico, where the P. A. F. L. secretary is now an outstanding figure politically through his leadership of the moderate Socialist party, might be a more likely haven.

* * *

Somebody should tell the Hosiery Workers' Union about the higher strategy of labor, referred to earlier in this story. For their organizers evidently believe that organizing workers is a hurly-burly game in which unionists have to go to jail, defy injunction judges, scoff at free speech bans of mayors and police and otherwise act without the dignity which befits so well statesmen of labor. Up in peaceful Gloucester, Mass., quaint fishing town and artists' hangout, uncouth hosiery union organizers, among them Earl White, appeared when the Ipswich mill decided it preferred yellow dog contracts and enslaved workers to union conditions. Not content with that, it imported some of Allen-A's and Real Silk's most rugged individuals, armed with blackjacks, guns and brass knuckles, to teach union workers something about the higher strategy.

What could a dignified union organizer do but fold up his mantle of dignity, lay it away carefully, and get into the fight? That's what White did. Ditto in Nazareth (!) where Editor Louis F. Budenz of "Labor Age", leader of the Allen-A strike for the Hosiery Workers' Federation, lost his dignity when he found that the "Nazareth Hosiery Worker," published for the non-union workers of that scab town, could not even be distributed to knitters and girls. Nor could the union hold meetings in the town named for the birthplace of the revolutionary carpenter.

So Budenz organized a big meeting on the town limits, got amplifiers, and talked to 2,000 non-union workers, spreading the message of unionism and denouncing the autocracy of the Nazareth mill bosses. Mayor and police bit their lips in indignation as they stood on the town boundary, beseeching state troopers to do their duty.

This department prepared from Federated Press news reports by Harvey O'Connor, Eastern Bureau Manager of The Federated Press.

In Other Lands

A MILD BRITISH CONGRESS

John Bull got over the 61th Trade Union Congress with less shocks but with really more surprises than any previous assembly of labor since they met in Belfast over thirty years ago. There was no blood and thunder radical to send cold shivers down his spine. This was due in part to a desire not to embarrass the Labor Government which is its offspring. It was also due to a frank recognition of its own responsibility on the one hand and weakness on the other. Instead of the time honored revolutionary clamor there was gradualness such as would have delighted Sidney Webb. Rationalization as a principle and as an industrial policy was accepted and made trade union law. There was a progressive note and in full accord with the best trade union traditions in the suggestion that the unions were now a part of industry and its functions, but unfortunately, not crystallized into a resolution. The Congress sustained the Melchett report after a spirited protest from a few delegates. Thus Mondism is given legal sanction. There was a demand for more Empire trade and a hint of preference within it as a remedy for unemployment. It was the biggest surprise England got in many a day to see a group of representative labor men largely free traders and of an Adam Smithian economic hue coming out for a policy advocated by the Chamberlains for a generation. The power of bureaucracy to hamper a government and to do mischief was illustrated by the complaints from unions regarding the handling of unemployed allowances. The Labor government will have its hands full in remaking the old Bureaus and giving them new vision.

The first of the Congress decrees to be realized was the call for better relations with Russia. The Labor government backed down from its lofty patronizing position, and gave the Soviet a diplomatic victory. Russia got recognition and a loan or credit while England got a promise that the Third International would withdraw its propagandists from India. A program for the enlargement and the better financing of the Daily Herald was approved behind closed doors which led to charges that the paper was to be semi-capitalist. This is the wonder of the age—a nation with a Labor government and millions of trade union members can support only one Labor daily paper and less than a dozen weeklies. It is plain they are richer in spirit and vision than in purse. The wage reduction in the cotton industry was taken by the Congress as something unavoidable and only discussed after repeated demands were made on the Council. It may lead to a squeezing out of some of the watered stock and a reorganization of the industry. The Minority movement was attacked all around by the leaders of the assembly, even Cook giving them a slap. The congress was unprogressive and timid on the whole.

The Labor Party Annual Conference at Brighton was not the thrilling dramatic affair of other years. No one

wanted to embarrass the Government with hostile resolutions and unseemly demands. The Communists were out and their standing was not a subject of debate as formerly. MacDonald's visit to the United States meant that nothing of fundamental seriousness would be broached. Henderson, Lansbury, Snowden, Thomas and Tillett managed the sessions with Williams and other minor guns helping the manipulation behind the scenes. The Conference's biggest foreign problem was India. As the Simon Commission is home and all ready to report with its series of very mild recommendations the Conference could not very well criticize the report for it had representation (Vernon Hartshorn) on the commission and all have approved the document. The I. L. P.'s demands for more drastic military and naval reductions were not accepted. The proposals for proportional representation of all parties in parliamentary committees and substitution of the American system for the Cabinet one was considered too drastic. No doubt it will be introduced some other time and may become the rule but so far the present system, not being wholly unsatisfactory and being more secretive, will not be changed. The Labor Party must possess a majority before it can experiment along those lines. The executive report stated the membership had fallen off by approximately 220,000 due to the loss of unions of Civil Servants and other causes, principally the depression.

FRANCE, GERMANY AND ITALY

There were no important economic disturbances in these countries during the past month. Public attention was riveted on the Hague and Geneva and on Briand's United States of Europe scheme. The Hague saw Germany relieved of some of the foreign troops that held the Rhine but saddled with some more financial burdens. The German Fascists have been active. They were unable to do serious damage. France still holds troops in the Reich and is demanding its pound of flesh or security. It opposed reducing reserves and abolishing the submarine. Italy, like Russia, continues to arrest and jail liberals and radicals who do not agree with the dictatorship. Mussolini resigned from two of his cabinet jobs but gave up none of his power. Vienna has also its Fascisti rash but not much of a serious nature can be done by the Austrian imitators of the Duce as there is a well organized opposition to them.

RUSSIAN GAINS

Russia gained a diplomatic victory over England in that it got what it wanted without paying for it. It has recognition diplomatically now. Soon it will exchange ministers with Britain. On its Chinese front the Soviet seems to have gained some advantages. It has the Eastern railroad once more. It also has the sweet satisfaction of seeing its enemy financially broke, divided and at loggerheads.

PATRICK L. QUINLAN.



"Say It With Books"



MENTAL MUNITIONS FOR THE WAR ON WAR

"Survey of International Affairs, 1927" by Arnold J. Toynbee, Oxford University Press, \$5.

"Between War and Peace" by Florence B. Boeckel, Macmillan \$2.50.

"Portfolio of World Heroes," National Council for Prevention of War, 50c.

THE biblical text "The fool hath his eyes on the ends of the earth" needs revision in these days of globe-encircling aviation flights and the consequent shrinking of horizons. To foretell the future of any one country now involves a knowledge of international affairs and the survey, made by Mr. Toynbee, has compiled and made easily accessible a wealth of evidence concerning, for example, the Geneva Disarmament Conferences. The occupation of Germany by Allied troops, the friction between Fascist Italy and France, the breakup of the Kuomintang in China, the negotiations between the United States and Mexico over property rights and the extent of U. S. investment in Latin America are all covered with the appropriate documents.

Mrs. Boeckel's book is of much more general and immediate usefulness. It is a handbook brimming over with facts about almost every phase of war, its effects and its cost in men and money. There is also given an inclusive summary of anti-war public opinion and of the organizations, and their methods, which are working for peace in the school, in the church, in labor and women organizations and in commerce. The individual is shown what he can do for peace; books and organizations are listed and programs for schools and study groups suggested. Only foolish optimists think that the Hoover-MacDonald talks and the agreement between the English-speaking section of the world to reduce building in somewhat superseded methods of naval warfare will secure a peace, permanent and universal. Therefore "Between War and Peace" will still remain indispensable to the practical pacifist.

Yet in its approach to the problem of war, the book seems to make war into a cause rather than an effect. Its inversion becomes clear (p. 357) in the statement: "General recognition of the futility of war as a means of assuring economic progress will hasten the abandonment of economic policies based upon it." To the National Council for protection of War—from which so much of the valuable material for this book has come—it is only a matter of influencing governments by the creation of anti-war opinion instead of changing the social system which

in its imperialist phase inevitably produces war. There exists the danger, in the reviewer's opinion, that individuals as such will take the Ponsonby pledge not to participate in war of any kind and remain contentedly idle. Unless the economic taproots of war are clearly understood and a collective attempt made to change the capitalist system, such pledges and pacifism will be only an excuse for ostrich inactivity. Our author could have found almost as many declarations favoring peace before the Great War as since. Yet it came. Wars can always be proved to be defensive. Women, clergy, labor leaders, socialists, communists alike are likely to be swept away. It is also very encouraging to know the forces fighting for peace but this handbook should have estimated the strength of the opposing forces: the activity of Mr. Shearer and his fellow professional patriots, the Security League, the National Civic Federation and of other bodies who advocate "Americanism" and play upon the jungle old human fears of the unknown and the hatred of the foreigner. The huge circulation of "Liberty" boosting its Red-Napoleon—stealthy—Chinese—stuff is a disturbing example of how popular and paying is such activity.

From its various resolutions quoted on militarism, the A. F. of L. has lapsed back like the American Legion in its one time verbal opposition to militarism. Instead of making suggestions for the conversion of the Federal shipyards into more useful forms of activity than building battleships, the machinists deplore the loss of work caused by a reduction of armaments and labor leaders visit West Point.

Mrs. Boeckel infers that the increase in U. S. foreign investments from two and one half million dollars in 1914 to fourteen and one half billion dollars in 1927 makes for peace. But such increases, on a smaller scale, did not keep Britain out of war and some of that financial aid went to Mussolini who amid all his portfolios never carried that of the angel of peace. The far-sighted bankers, economists and editors, it is true, oppose the tariff increases, but up they go to an unprecedented level. Trade interdependence does not automatically produce conscious cooperation on a world scale as the book suggests.

A minor criticism is that of the reference to an international language as an aid to peace should have been amplified or omitted. The Esperantist organizations and their journals, the use of the international language in important Conferences and in the bulletins of the I. L. O. and the International Transport Workers' Federation are surely more worthy of note than classes in Lithopolis

(Ohio) mentioned as if they were the only ones in the United States and the wide world outside.

For parents and teachers the portfolio, giving pictures of Pasteur, Columbus, Florence Nightingale and of others of the world's truly great, should prove useful as an aid to the virtually necessary international outlook. Opposition to war must have its constructive positive side.

MARK STARR

REALISTIC ECONOMICS

"The Useful Art of Economics," by George Soule. The Macmillan Company.

THOSE of us who have been fed on the usual high school or college text on economics, welcome the newer approach as embodied in such works as Clay's "Economics for the General Reader" or George Soule's recent book entitled "The Useful Art of Economics." These books prove that economics is not such a dismal science but rather useful in helping the worker to understand and to control his economic environment. Soule is interested especially in the problem of increasing our national income and of controlling our machine civilization to better the conditions of the workers because even with the unprecedented growth of our wealth since the war, America can give each one but the essentials of subsistence.

The approach of Soule to his problem is not that of a theoretician or a devotee of any particular "ism" but rather that of a realist, possibly too much so, calling for a reorganization of industry along "rationalist" lines, for a greater advance in technological science, for more effective and comprehensive industrial research, experimentation and education, along with greater control through government or quasi-public agencies like the Port Authority or agencies like the Interstate Commerce Commission so that the instruments of wealth production do not become our masters in the hands of our increasingly richer exploiters.

In his simple generalized treatment Soule not only throws light upon some of the more difficult problems of economics but also pricks many of the economic bubbles we have been taught to worship, especially by classical economics, such as the theory of marginal utility; the inexorableness of the law of supply and demand; the need of a balance of trade; the "bunk" of protection; the theory of the business "cycle" and the nonsense of a "fair" return for a public utility based on evaluation. The book should be on every worker's book shelf.

THE EQUITIST PLAN

The Equitable Society and How to Create It, by Warren Edwin Brokaw. Vanguard Press and The Equitist League.

THIS book embodies a new panacea involving the payment of wages in the form of time certificates regardless of the product created or the skill involved. By this method the Equitists hope to liberate men from the control of greed engendered by economic insecurity and the fear and poverty it produces and substitute in its place a desire to serve and win the love and respect of their fellow workers. Ownership of property in natural resources is regarded by the Equitists as the greatest immorality since it makes possible the levying of interest and theft

through exchange and not by production or work—the only legitimate basis for wealth.

The equitist is an individualist because he regards property as the sole result of work. Property is individual and not communal, hence the equitist is opposed to Socialism. Like Proudhon or Henry George, the equitist regards rent, interest and profit as "robbery." Hence the task of those seeking to establish equal freedom is to secure for mankind freedom to use the land since that freedom is basic and behind all other freedoms. The equitist not only opposes the land monopolist but also the monopoly of invention. To him bonds spell—bondage. The bondage of the worker is due not to the capitalist or capitalism but to the power to levy tribute through exchange which is based upon results instead of work. It is property in privilege and not stored human work which makes the robbery of the worker possible. Hence pay work on a time basis by establishing a bank to issue checks on a time basis only. A time-dollar would make work dear and goods cheap; would kill greed and the desire to corner a commodity; the worker could employ himself, get the full value of what he creates, substitute a service incentive and thus increase the morale of the worker. The commodity dollar, on the other hand, embodying payment by results which includes the resources of nature, makes labor cheap and things dear; encourages greed, breeds competition, makes for low wages and the payment for the appropriation of the gifts of nature.

The equitist seems to ignore the fact that tribute is based on ownership. The equitist scheme might work in a new world or in a Utopia. How the equitist plan would handle the question of present ownership and expropriation, how it would convince workers—skilled and unskilled—that they all ought to receive the same time wage regardless of skill, occupation or product; how they would allocate labor where natural inclination creates an oversupply; how they could meet prices due to difference in fertility by time payment; how provide for the management of gigantic industry, etc., is difficult to determine. The equitist scheme raises more problems than it settles. It seems to the writer that it is far simpler and more in harmony with the present psychology of the worker to socialize industry and through public service redistribute wealth for the benefit of all. Whether a system of payment as suggested by the equitist proposition would later be adopted by a socialist society providing for equal wage as suggested by Shaw is problematical.

ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ.

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Workers Education In Colorado

A Summer School for Progressive Workers

By FRANK L. PALMER

“THE workers must own the machines!”

That slogan became obvious to the students of the Colorado Workers Summer School as they studied the effect of machine displacement of men, the inevitable advance of imperialism toward another great war, and the history of the effect of tools on the workers' lives in the past.

From the address of President Earl R. Hoage, of the State Federation of Labor, to the argument of the “leftest” Left Winger among the students, there was considerable difference as to tactics in getting the ownership of the machines, but there was no difference as to goal.

Dr. Colston E. Warne, of the University of Pittsburgh, was dean of the school and taught two classes. One, called “Men and Machines,” the theme class of the school, was attended by every student and gave the school a bird's-eye view of the present world economic situation. He ended with the economic challenge of Soviet Russia, with its controlled and coordinated economy, where the “workers own the machines.” His second class was for an invited group of young people who have been in the Denver Labor college and who were ready to plunge immediately into a study of the “ways out” of capitalism.

Professor James Buchanan, who went through the University of Denver with a union card in his pocket, struck with the Denver tramwaymen when a freshman trailer boy in 1920 and later was financed in his education by a group of young trade unionists and progressives in the Colorado Credit Union, taught the “History of the Tool.” He showed how the workers' lives have been affected through the centuries by the tools with which they work and how there have been long periods of time when history flowed on an even plane, punctuated by extraordinary spurts forward and upward, such as the bringing of political democracy as a result of the French revolution. We are living in such a period, he said, as illustrated by the Russian revolution, in which the workers will get the ownership of these wonderful new machines and life will be lived on a new plane as a result.

Miss Elsie Harper, a member of the British Independent Labor Party, taught a class in “Imperialism and the Machine.” As she told the story of British imperialism, the class noted that our own country is already well headed along the same trail, although Miss Harper pointed out that each nation gives its people a little different camouflage for its imperialistic aggression, Britain's being “the white man's burden” and our own being “education and sanitation.” The profits of carrying the white man's burden approximate the profits on education and sanitation, the students judged.

Miss Brownie Jones, of Richmond, Va., taught a class in Labor Literature, based on “Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry” and “The Cry for Justice.” The readings were coordinated with the other classes so that facts and inspiration hit at the same problem.

Jerome Hellerstein, who is an honor student in the Harvard Law School and a member of the staff of the Harvard Law Review, taught public speaking, again coordinating with the other classes so that the speeches were on the subjects being discussed in the other classes.

Classes were started off mornings with an inspirational talk by A. A. Heist, based on “Pioneers of Freedom,” by McAlister Coleman.

Each evening and over the week ends, there were addresses around the campfire by the brook. Judge Ben Lindsey spoke on “The House of Human Welfare;” Miss Josephine Roche told of the effort to bring better relations to Colorado coal fields through the Rocky Mountain Fuel Co. experiment; Carle Whitehead, prominent Denver attorney, spoke on monopoly control through patents; Joseph Gilbert, editor of the NEBRASKA CRAFTSMAN, led the discussion periods and made three splendid addresses; A. C. Blow told inimitably of his experiences in managing a cooperative at Chugwater, Wyo.; Ben C. Marsh of the People's Lobby urged the passage of a few laws; and the feature session of them all was when President Hoage urged the formation of industrial unions, with young and aggressive leadership aimed at the final taking over of the industries, “the only logical final goal for labor.”

There were 107 registered for some part of the nine days' session, with about half staying for the full time. The summer school had leased a conference grounds at Palmer Lake, with hotel, dining hall, meeting hall, swimming pool, recreation grounds and unlimited mountains. The full time registrants paid \$10 for the nine days, board, room and tuition—the low rate making possible the attendance of a large number of young people.

MURDER IN MARION!

As we go to press a dispatch is received from Marion, N. C. that the strikers death toll has reached 5. A. J. Muste has left for the scene of the killings to deliver the funeral address.

If the news of this latest example of Southern terrorism does not move the A. F. of L. at Toronto to more than protest, then nothing else will.

Conference for Progressive Labor Action

WINS AGAIN

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor will urge that the Toronto convention go on record favoring a national old age pension law. Last year the A. F. of L. was doubtful of the value of such a method to help the old, outworn soldiers of industry. The arguments of the progressive laborites convinced the labor unions of the worthiness of this piece of social insurance.

Join with the Progressives and Help Introduce More of the Planks of the C.P.L.A. Platform

The beauty of the struggle is in the adventure, courage, imagination and hope it calls forth. Success is with the progressives because they are with the future.

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